JAMES KARL HOFFMEIER

SACRED IN THE VOCABULARY OF ANCIENT EGYPT The Term <u>DSR</u>, with special Reference to Dynasties I–XX

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To Cathy whose support and encouragement has made this study possible



FOREWARD

It is hoped that this study of what I believe to be the primary Egyptian word for "holy/sacred" would contribute a new emphasis in the study of Egyptian religion. This volume is not meant to be the final word on the subject, but rather a source to stimulate discussion on this most important, and largely neglected, area of Egyptian and Near Eastern religions.

This study focuses on the word <u>dsr</u> from its earliest appearance in Egyptian texts (Ca. 3000) down to around 1200 B.C., with only a few references from the later period. One would like to continue this investigation in the future and there include the Third Intermediate and Ptolemaic Periods.

Since this work was my doctoral dissertation at the University of Toronto's Centre for Religious Studies, there are many professors and colleagues whose assistance in preparation should be acknowledged. Above all, Professor Ronald J. Williams bore the burden of supervising this study. His untiring patience and practical advice were appreciated. Professor W. G. Oxtoby, the founding director of the Centre for Religious Studies, first interested me in the subject of "the sacred" in his classes and through his own writings. His support of and enthusiasm for my work was a great asset at the beginning stages of my research. Professor D. B. Redford was able to provide me with numerous bibliographic references and texts which were extremely helpful. In the final stages of the work I received much encouragement from Professor John Simpson (Director of the Centre) and

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Abbreviations

AEO Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I-II ARE Ancient Records of Egypt ASAE Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte Atlas Book of the Dead (references from Naville unless specified) BD BDB Briggs, Driver & Brown, A Hebrew and English Lexicon **BIFAO** Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale **BMMA** Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art British School of Egyptian Archaeology BSEA CAD Assyrian Dictionary (Chicago) Cairo Cat. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire c d'É Chronique d'Égypte CDME Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian CTCoffin Texts D.el B. Deir el-Bahri Volumes I-VI Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans DG les textes hieroglyphiques EEF Egypt Exploration Fund Giza Giza (H. Junker) GM Göttinger Miszellen Egyptian Grammar (A.H. Gardiner) Grammar **IFAO** Institut français d'archéologie orientale Journal of the American Oriental Society JAOS Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt JARCE JEA Journal of Egyptian Archaeology **JEOL** Jaarbericht ex Oriente Lux Journal of Near Eastern Studies **JNES** The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities **JSSEA** <u>Uebersetzung und Kommentar zu den Altägyptischen</u> Kom Pyramidentexten KRI Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions LÄ Lexikon der Agyptologie (editors W. Helck and E. Otto) Aegyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch in Akademischen Les. Unterricht

LR Le livre des rois d'Égypte

MÄS Münchner Ägyptologische Studien

MDAIK Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts für ägyptische

Altertumskunde in Kairo

MIFAO Mémoires de l'institut français d'archéologie Orientale

MIO Mitteilungen der Instituts für Orientforschung (Berlin)

MMJ Metropolitan Museum Journal

NBD New Bible Dictionary (editor J.D. Douglas)

PSBA Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology

PT Pyramid Text(s)

RB Egyptian Readingbook (A. de Buck)

R de T Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à

l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes

R d'É Revue d'Égyptologie

RSV Revised Standard Version

SAK Studien zur ägyptischen Kultur

UGAA Untersuchungen Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens

Urk. I Urkunden des Alten Reichs (K. Sethe)

<u>Urk. IV Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</u> pp. 1-1226 (K. Sethe) pp. 1227-1954 (W. Helck)

Wb Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache Volumes I-V.

WZKM Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes

ZÄS Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde

Introduction

"The sacred" or "holy" might be considered the starting point in the religious experience of man. Religion and
"the sacred" are so intricately interwoven that by studying
the latter we can begin to better comprehend the former.

Herodotus, the 5th Century Greek historian who visited Egypt, said of the Egyptians: "They are beyond measure religious, more than any other nation ... Their religious observances are, (one may say) innumerable" (Herodotus II, 37, Godley 1921). He then proceeded to describe many of the sacred animals, practices and festivals of Egypt.

When a visitor tours Egypt today and walks about the long abandoned temples and tombs of antiquity, he begins to appreciate something of what Herodotus experienced when he visited Egypt 2500 years ago. The temple scenes and texts, along with hundreds of statues and papyri reveal that the Egyptians, as Herodotus observed, were sincerely devoted to their religious convictions. Even a western tourist can come away with a sense of the sacred regard that the Egyptians had for their gods after walking through the temple of Horus at Edfu or the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak.

Over the past century a number of books and essays have dealt with the subject of "the sacred" or "holy" in various religious traditions. Since the Judaeo-Christian tradition still dominates "religious studies" in western Europe and

North America, it is little wonder that most of these writings are from an Old Testament perspective. The Jewish philosopher-theologian Ahad Ha'am (1912, 41-45) in 1891 wrote an essay entitled "Sacred and Profane." There he touched on the important theme of how something considered sacred could hallow something common. For the most part his examples were from the Old Testament, but he did mention the Egyptian practice of using older type stone vessels for certain religious observances because they were considered sacred and ancient (1912, 41-42). Other writers to make contributions to the study of "the sacred" from an Old Testament perspective were W. Robertson Smith in his Religion of the Semites (1889) (he integrated biblical and Muslim Arabian material), O.R. Jones' The Concept of Holiness (1961), and many others.

Without a doubt, the single most important contribution to this topic came in Rudolf Otto's <u>Das Heilige</u>, which was translated into English in 1923 as <u>The Idea of the Holy</u> (1946). No historian of religion or theologian after Otto could write on the subject of "the holy" without referring to <u>Das Heilige</u>.

During the second half of the 19th Century and into the 20th Century, religious studies had been buffeted by rationalism, evolutionism and Freudian psychology. It is understandable, then, why Otto approached this topic the way he did with the intent to describe and qualify "the holy." Regardless of the individual's religious tradition,

be it Jewish, Christian or eastern mystic, Otto maintained that the encounter with divinity or "the sacred," which he preferred to call the <u>numinous</u> (1946, 6-7), was an irrational, subjective feeling. He believed that "the holy" was unique to the sphere of religion and therefore defied the rational (1946, 5). This, of course, opposed the view of many who were attempting to reduce religious experience to a purely psychological phenomenon.

Otto frequently utilized Latin terms to describe "the holy" since more familiar English terms had been so misused that they no longer communicated what the words actually meant. This still holds true today. W.G. Oxtoby, in his essay "Holy (The Sacred)" (1973, 511-514), points out that even in the use of "holy" and "sacred" there tends to be selective use of these two key terms when in their root meanings, Germanic and Latin respectively, they are the same. "Holy" tends to be used to mean a higher quality of holiness. Westerners speak of the "Holy Bible" because it is thought to be of divine origin, whereas they refer to a certain type of music, fitting for worship, as being "sacred" because it is of human origin. In this present study, the English words "holy" and "sacred" and their derivatives will be used interchangably and with the same meaning.

Otto (1946, 6) felt that understanding the terms used to describe "the holy" was helpful in appreciating the essence of the concept. The Hebrew, Greek and Latin terms had been studied in some detail and understood, thanks to

the biblical documents. There appears to be a common strain running through these terms, namely the idea of something supernatural or of divine nature, and thus it is separated or segregated from what is common. However, for many these words had been reduced to the expression of a merely aesthetic or moral nuance meaning "good" or "absolute goodness" (Otto 1946, 6).

Mysterium tremendum was a Latin expression coined by Otto (1917, 12-14) to express the feeling of fear and awe aroused in the person who was experiencing the <u>numinous</u>. Closely related to this was <u>majestas</u>, the sense of being overpowered (Otto 1917, 19). For man to experience such an encounter leads to the realization that the <u>numinous</u> is "that which is quite beyond the sphere of the usual, the intelligible, and familiar ..." (Otto 1946, 26). Otto described this state as <u>das ganz andere</u> (1946, 26), "the wholly other."

By using these terms and expressions, Otto was able to describe the encounter of man with deity in a new and fresh way. The interaction between the <u>numinous</u> and the believer had a fascinating (<u>fascinans</u>), attracting quality to it, and yet had a daunting and repelling effect. To support this notion, one need only search through the Old and New Testaments for examples, as Otto did (1946, 72-81 & 82-93).

After Otto the most important figure in the phenomenological study of religion to deal with "the sacred" was Gerardus van der Leeuw in his Phänomenologie der Religion (1933), which was translated into English under the title Religion in Essence and Manifestation (1963).

For van der Leeuw (1963, 43-51), power, awe and tabu are closely related to "the sacred." "The sacred" is something that has "been placed within boundaries" and is "exceptional" (1963, 47). He also believed that ritual purification played an important role in religious practice, especially as one related to sacred matters (1963, 343). Dirt, he argued, included more than just filth, but also any "hindrances and annoyances that prevent the perpetuation and renewal of life ..." (1963, 343).

Van der Leeuw's magnum opus is of special interest to this present study since he was trained in Egyptology and the history of religion. In his writings he frequently drew examples from Egyptian religious practices. On purification and renewal of life, he has noted that the use of from signs (meaning "life") to represent water in Egyptian purification scenes support his view that purification involved renewal of life (1963, 344). With these observations on dirt and purification, van der Leeuw laid an important foundation for Mary Douglas' Purity and Danger (1966). Like Otto and W.R. Smith (1889, 132 & 150) van der Leeuw (1963, 393-402) maintained that "sacred space," where temples, shrines and churches were built, is "select" because of some sacred character or event associated with the place. Such spots are not made, they are discovered (1963, 398).

Van der Leeuw's other major contribution to the study

of the "sacred" was his <u>Vom Heiligen in der Kunst</u>, translated into English as <u>Sacred and Profane Beauty</u> (1963a). In this work he related some of the principles from <u>Religion in Essence and Manifestation</u> to art, especially images, temples and churches.

In the same school as van der Leeuw was his contemporary W.B. Kristensen, whose major work The Meaning of Religion was compiled from his lectures and published in 1960, seven years after his death. Most of the content of this book was written in the 1930's and 1940's. Kristensen studied Egyptology in Paris under Maspero, and then went on to do his doctorate in Egyptian religion in Holland.

Like van der Leeuw he frequently cited Egyptian religious practices, terminology and iconography. His approach was different from Otto's when it came to "the sacred." He argued that, contrary to Otto (that "the sacred" is the starting point of religion), the major question is how the numinous reveals itself in natural phenomena, and "how the believer conceives the phenomena he calls "holy" (1960, 17). For Kristensen (1960, 18) "The starting point of Phenomenology is therefore the viewpoint of the believer, and not the concept 'holiness' in its elements or moments."

For Kristensen (1960, 358), like many of his predecessors in the history of religion, a place became holy by virtue of the presence or revelation of a deity. By saying this, it appears that his departure from Otto is not so much a difference in their conclusions but in the perspective used to examine the data.

It is curious that van der Leeuw and Kristsen should both be trained in Egyptology and interested in the study of "the sacred" and yet did not isolate the Egyptian words that conveyed this meaning (that is in their major works cited here). It seems that there is a very wide gap in our knowledge of the Egyptian concept of "the sacred" if the terms used to describe sacred places and objects are not known and understood.

Mircea Eliade is perhaps the most important contemporary historian of religion to write on "the sacred." His books Sacred and Profane (1957), followed by Patterns in Comparative Religion (1958) acknowledge an indebtedness to Otto and might even be considered as an apologetic of Das Heilige, for he offered countless examples from ancient Near Eastern, African, Oceanian, and Indian sources that support Otto's contentions.

After fully endorsing Otto's conclusions, Eliade (1957, 10) proposes to study "sacred in its entirety." He speaks of sacred as being "the opposite of the profane" and says that it manifests itself to man as "wholly different from profane" (1957, 10). Eliade used the word "hierophany" to describe such a manifestation. For Eliade (1958, 2-3) a hierophany is a historical fact which occurred at a certain place. However, he recognized that the hierophany could vary according to differences in economy, culture and sociological organization (1957, 17). In addition to differences in hierophany, Eliade (1958, 14) coined the term "kratophany" to describe a manifestation of power.

Eliade (1958, 14-15) follows Otto's view that "the sacred" has both attracting and repelling attributes. In Greek thought, something sacred (α_{YLOG}) could have a purifying or polluting result (1958, 15). The same is true in Semitic and Egyptian religion, he argues. This can be seen in the Hebrew word night, "abomination," cognate with w^cb (Albright 1940, 129, n.45) which means "pure" (CDME 57) and cbw which means "purity" and "impurity" (CDME 40). A human who had not undertaken the prescribed purification rite could not approach the sacred spot or object. It was forbidden, tabu (Eliade 1958, 15).

The process by which a place became sacred, according to Eliade (1958, 368), requires that a hierophany or kratophany must first occur. The spot is then cordoned off, clearly marked to set it apart from the surrounding profane area. Since the hierophany repeats itself at the same spot, it is a present reality, not an illusion from the misty past. For this reason the cultus is established to celebrate the moment of the original hierophany. Here sacred space and sacred time come together. There are, however, other aspects to sacred time than just this (1958, 388-408).

The works cited here are by no means the only ones that deal with "the sacred," but they are certainly considered to be among the most important. A recent book on the subject is René Girard's La Violence et le sacré (1972), or as it is known in English, Violence and the Sacred (1977). Girard deals with sacrifice as a sacred act whereby the community

releases its violent tendencies on a surrogate victim in a religiously acceptable fashion. Girard, by following his structuralist model, goes too far in seeing all acts of violence as ultimately being of sacred significance (1977, 258ff.). It is all too easy to cite examples that would support this thesis, which Girard has done, and yet ignore other evidence. The violence associated with Elijah's sacrifice and the subsequent killing of the prophets of Baal might be recalled in this connection (I Kings 18). After fleeing to Sinai in fear of his arch-enemy queen Jezebel, Elijah experiences a mighty wind, an earthquake, a fire and then a still small voice. It was in the last of these phenomena that God was said to be present. Surely there was no violence in that.

For the most part Egyptologists who have studied Egyptian religion have not adequately applied the important contributions of the phenomenologists mentioned here. Among those who have is Henri Frankfort. In his discussion of sacred animals in Egypt, he used Otto's terms such as "otherness" to describe what the Egyptians saw in animals (1948b, 13-14). J. Zandee in his Death as an Enemy (1960) also follows the phenomenological tradition of the Dutch school.

Siegfried Morenz (1973) was the first Egyptologist to write a monograph on Egyptian religion from a phenomenological perspective and to incorporate the studies of his predecessors in the history of religion. To be sure, van

der Leeuw and Kristensen did utilize Egyptological material in their studies for comparative purposes; however, despite their discussions about "the sacred," they never recorded what Egyptian word denoted this concept. C.J. Bleeker has continued to write about the phenomenology of religion (1959, 96-111) and integrate that with Egyptian religion (cf. bibliography for some of his contributions), but he has never pursued the topic of "the sacred."

Morenz (1973, 99-100) does isolate the word <u>dsr</u> (although he was not the first to do so; see chapter 1) as the Egyptian counterpart to English "sacred" or "holy." While his treatment is excellent, he could devote only a page and a half to discuss this important word since his book was a general one about Egyptian religion.

For this reason it is necessary to devoted a thorough study to the primary Egyptian word for "sacred" in order to learn about this most important religious concept. The purpose of the following chapters is an investigation into this matter.

Chapter 1

I. The problem of the root meaning of dsr

In studying Egyptian vocabulary, one finds that several terms may have been semantically related to the concept of "holy" or "sacred." The editors of Wb (Vol. VI, 75), under heilig cite the words 3h, smi, \$t3, dsr; under heilige sein 3h, ntry, hwi, dsr, and for heiligen ntri, sntri, and twr. H. Brunner in the Lexikon der Agyptologie (Vol. II, part 7, 1094) has isolated the following terms under the heading "Heilige Orte"; dsr, \$psy, 3h, \$t3 and ntry. Most of these terms may somehow be related to the idea of holiness, primarily aesthetic descriptions of a holy state ("august," "glorious," "mysterious" and "divine," etc.), but they certainly did not specifically mean "holy" in the sense that has been understood by historians of religion (i.e. something that is "das ganz andere"). However, many have recognized that the word dsr is most likely the Egyptian word that best parallels the meaning "holy" and "sacred," like the Hebrew קדשׁ (BDB, 871); cf. pp. 8-9.

However, scholars have been divided as to exactly what the word \underline{dsr} means in various texts. This is compounded by uncertainty as to the original root meaning of the word (\underline{Wb} V, 609), which has led to an excessively broad range of meanings for the word, some of which are difficult to justify (most of these will be dealt with in this study). This broad range of meanings is evident in \underline{Wb} V, 609-615 where seven pages are devoted to the word and various

compound expressions.

The purpose of the Egyptian scribal practice of adding determinatives (or semantic indicators) to words was to provide a clue to the reader as to the meaning of the word. The determinative also served to classify words into types, e.g. \triangle applies to words denoting "movement" (Gardiner 1956, 457) and \bigcirc indicates some sort of action "demanding strength" (Griffith 1898, 15). A clue to the meaning of \underline{dsr} might be found in the sign \bigcirc since it may have originally been an ideogram. Prior to examining the possible meaning of the root \underline{dsr} , let us study this sign in some detail to see what it might tell us about the word \underline{dsr} .

A) The orthography of dsr and the sign \checkmark .

The earliest occurrence of the sign known to the writer is found on a stone fragment from the tomb of Pharaoh Djet of the 1st Dynasty (Petrie 1900, pl. IV) [see Figure 1].

Griffith (Petrie 1900, 38) thought that, since the sign was surmounted by two baskets, dsr was part of the Nebty name of the king. This seems quite likely since dsr appears in the Nebty name of Sekhemkhet of the 3rd Dynasty (Goneim 1957, 21). Goneim thought the name dsr cnh should be read "The Holy One is Living." Contemporary with this comes another early writing of dsr in the 3rd Dynasty mastaba of Sokar-kha-baw (Murray 1905, Plate 37, #6) which is very precisely drawn. [Figure 2] From the tomb of Khafkhufu comes another fine writing of dsr, which dates to the 4th Dynasty (Simpson 1978, plate 24), [Figure 3] All three of these very early examples provide some important information on the sign prior to its becoming more stylized. Each of these show two hands holding a stick-like object. For the most part, this detail is not shown in later writings -- usually only one hand holds the object. Three of these signs clearly show a nodule on the stick above the hands. The stick in the Khafkhufu example may show this detail. If so, it is considerably smaller than the others. H.G. Fischer has interpreted the stick (in the examples we have cited here) as being the mks staff (1978, 24; 1979, 19), and he suggests that the mks was the original object held in the sign \.1 This interpretation had been offered many years before by Griffith (1898, 15), who thought that the object was either a mks or a nhbt wand. As early as the 2nd Dynasty, however, in the smaller writing of the Helwan ceiling stelae (Saad 1957, #35 and #47), some of the

signs show only a straight stick, held in one hand. So it appears that stylization began quite early, and yet efforts were occasionally made in the Old Kingdom to show the details of both arms and the nodule (Hassan 1944, 251-52; Junker 1934, figure 14 and 16).

Gardiner (1946, 51) explained the object in the hand as the nhbt that perhaps possessed a magical quality. If in fact the nhbt was intended in the later writings, it could have been an interpretation of the stylized mks. Another suggestion as to the object held in the dsr sign is a head of lettuce (Fischer 1979, 19). Fischer has traced this usage to the Old Kingdom (1979, 53), where the leaf is frequently painted green, although white is also attested. The use of lettuce appears in the New Kingdom as well (Fischer 1979, 19). If the use of lettuce was a secondary development, it enjoyed a rather long history. Keimer's study of the lettuce plant (1924, 140-43) has shown that lettuce was associated with the Ithyphallic god Min, perhaps due to the similarity of the white fluid of lettuce and semen. On representations of lettuce, B. Adams (1980, 11) has remarked that they occur from the 6th Dynasty onwards, and that kings and priests are frequently shown offering Min a head of lettuce (1980, note 35). The identification of a faience object as lettuce by Adams (1980, 9-10) suggests that the offerings were sometimes made with a model and not the actual plant. Perhaps it was the picture of the extended arm holding the lettuce head that gave rise

to interpreting the $\underline{d}sr$ sign as holding lettuce. [cf. Figure 4]

Regardless of the exact meaning of the secondary interpretations of the object held in the hand, attention must be directed toward the earliest detailed depictions. These are quite clearly either a straight stick or what appears to be the mks staff.

In his study of the "Frises d'objets," Jéquier (1921, 173-76) proposed that the mks staff was originally a type of walking stick. The cross-piece on the lower end of the stick (visible in the Sokar-Kha-Baw writing; cf. Figure 3), he suggested, was to prevent the staff from penetrating soil or sand too deeply when weight was placed on it. Fischer's observation (1978, 24) is that the mks is seen in use primarily by "the king in his priestly role."

A stick very similar in shape to the mks is found being used by the warring kings as early as the time of Sekhemkhet (Gardiner and Peet 1955, Plate I). Here the king is standing over an enemy in the classic "head-smashing" pose.

[Figure 5] As the right hand is posed to bludgeon the foe with a mace, the left hand grasps a lock of hair of the enemy along with a stick that looks suspiciously like the mks. The diagnostic nodule above the hand is clearly visible. In virtually all of the scenes of this genre, a staff is shown in the left hand. One notable exception is in the renowned Narmer palette battle scene. However, from the reign of Den (also from Dynasty 1) it is attested (Atlas 184a).

In the majority of cases the nodule on the stick is not present. However it is included often enough that it is certain that the stick in the king's hand did have this nodule, but it was frequently overlooked by the artists.

Even in the 18th Dynasty in a head-smashing scene of Thutmose III we see the nodule on the staff (Atlas 53a) [Figure 6], and as late as the Graeco-Roman period from the temple of Edfu, the staff is included (Rochemonteix 1894, IV).

The function of these staves in battle was as a defensive weapon for protection in hand-to-hand combat. In other words, it was a parrying stick.² The nodule was an essential element of this weapon, fulfilling the same function as the guard on the hilt of a sword. The parrying stick could be used in both hands or with only one, freeing the other hand for offensive action, most likely with a mace or club.

In some writings of a cross piece is shown on the lower end of the stick (Fischer 1979, 19; PT \$81471, 581c (P), 801; etc.). This bar likely served as a pommel to prevent the parrying stick from slipping out of the hand of the warrior.

In "head-smashing" scenes from the New Kingdom the parrying stick is usually depicted, often with the nodule (Atlas 53a). Interestingly enough, even in the ceremonial scenes cited by Fischer (1978, 24) and Jéquier (1921, 175), where the mks is being carried by a monarch, the mace is

always present. The mace and parrying stick seem to complement each other like the sword and shield (or buckler).

This being the case, then, the mks should be regarded originally as a defensive weapon used with the mace, as the earliest scenes demonstrate (e.g. Den's and Sekhemkhet's). Subsequently, when the mace was replaced as a weapon for combat, it was reduced along with the parrying stick to use in purely ceremonial functions (like those cited by Fischer) and in archaic scenes like the "head-smashings." Exactly when this development took place is impossible to determine. But the obsolescence of the mace and the parrying stick may parallel the beginning of the attempt by Egyptian scribes and artists to replace the staff in the dsr sign with a nhbt or lettuce plant.

If the mks is a parrying stick, as suggested here, what is its significance in the $\underline{d}sr$ sign? The parrying stick, as mentioned above, served to ward off the blows of a mace, stick, or other weapon. M. Murray (1937, 7) many years ago argued that the "word $\underline{d}sr$ means 'cleared, purified' with the sense of driving away evil spirits or evil influences." Gardiner (1946, 51) in his discussion of the $\underline{d}sr$ sign says,

The object held in the hand is known as the nhbt wand or sceptre, and unless this is a cudgel or a purely magical instrument for "warding off" people, it might be a sort of brush for "uniting" (nhb) things that belong together, and so for keeping them apart from other things.

Before the turn of the 19th century, Griffith (1898, 15)

in his brief study of the \longrightarrow sign characterized it as the "Word-sign for zsr ($\underline{d}sr$), 'sacred,' the sign indicating that what is evil and profane is warded off." Even the editors of \underline{Wb} (V, 609) in reference to the root meaning of $\underline{d}sr$ declared that it was "eine körperliche Handlung mit der Hand." This certainly allows for the meaning of the manual action of "warding off" with a stick.

That the arm holding a stick of some sort was the Egyptian method for denoting aggression or action, often with a stick, is clear from the following terms gleaned from the Pyramid Texts with similar determinatives:

2 18		8500b 8908c-g	"dispel" (clouds) "drive off" (evil)
ONTI OT	PT	8 492d	"hinder"
~ L	PΤ	5 614c	"fear"
	PΤ	8643	"to smite"
18 to 1		∰908d-f §653c	"remove" (evil) "drive off"
	PΤ	#8290b, and 30	"nrotect"
黨四人	PΤ	\$\$304a (' and 30	
- ZY	PΤ	88127c, and 71	
٧٩	PΤ	88270 "	strife," "quarrel"

This lexical list supports the idea that a hieroglyph with a hand holding various types of sticks represents some sort of action, particularly aggression. With the \underline{dsr} sign it might be concluded that it should be interpreted as active movement with the mks staff, or parrying stick, warding off the blows of an attacker. This idea was transferred to the religious context in which it was desirable to preserve the sanctity of sacred spots by means of warding off evil and polluting forces.

B) The root meaning and semantic range of $\underline{d}sr$

The word \underline{dsr} has been variously translated by scholars. This is due largely to the obscurity of the original meaning of the word. While Egyptologists have avoided a thorough study of the word, quite a few have offered suggestions, some of which are certainly close to the right understanding. As mentioned above, the editors of \underline{Wb} adopted a cautious approach to their study of \underline{dsr} , which has led to an excessively wide range of meanings, including "to clear," "to manipulate," "to separate," "to raise," "to lift up," "splendid," and "holy" (\underline{Wb} V, $\underline{609-611}$).

Gardiner was openly critical of Adolf Erman's treatment of dsr. He said (Gardiner 1922, 110):

 $\begin{subarray}{ll} Dsr I believe to have a cognate meaning; the stem seems to mean "to forbid" like Arabic $harama$, whence such significations as "holy," "consecrated" as pointing us in this direction $Bersheh$ II 21, 28 will be found interesting, $dsrw$ there meaning "privacy" almost like the neighboring $w^{CC}w$.$

Some years later, Gardiner entered the debate once again (1946, 51):

 $\underline{\mathrm{Wb}}$ V, 609ff. displays unwonted scepticism as regards the meaning of the word \underline{dsr} , which as adjective is usually and adequately rendered "holy." I take this opportunity of recording my conviction that the predominating meaning is "set apart," particularly with the added nuance of "keeping aloof" from vulgar intrusion; the English "segregate" perhaps comes nearest to this sense.

Gardiner was in sharp disagreement with the translation "Pracht" for dsr, which German scholars had accepted (Wb V, 610; Junker, Giza VIII, 129). Murray's interpretation of the word dsr was quoted above in a different context, but it bears repeating here (1937, 7):

the word <u>dsr</u> means "cleared," "purified" with the sense of driving away evil spirits or evil influences.

Griffith (1898, 15) had expressed this same view late in the 19th century. More recently, Morenz (1973, 99)

observed:

The views of Griffith, Gardiner, Murray and Morenz are in basic agreement with the meaning of the word "sacred" or "holy" as historians of religion have suggested. The works of Otto (1946, 1f), Van der Leeuw (1963, 387-401), Eliade (1957, 8ff.) and Oxtoby (1973, 511), dealing with the biblical and other Near Eastern religions, certainly agree with this understanding. Old Testament scholars

seem to agree that the Hebrew term for holy, \$77\$ means "segregated" or "separated from" (NBD 529-30, BDB 871) in its root meaning.

While this understanding of the meaning of $\underline{d}sr$ is to be favored, an additional problem related to the origin of the word merits discussion. In 1913 in a series of articles on Semito-Egyptian words, A. Ember (1913, 130) suggested that $\underline{d}sr$ was cognate with the Semitic root $g\overline{s}r$. Ember rendered $\underline{d}sr$ as "to support," "to raise," "to clear," "glorious" and "powerful." This range is basically in harmony with that found in Wb V.

Etymologically, Semitic or proto-Semitic g\$r could equal Egyptian dsr as Carleton Hodge and K.A. Kitchen have stated. However, semantically the association of the two words seems questionable. Akkadian gašāru means "to become powerful," "to concentrate (troops)," "to show oneself superior in strength," "to vie with one another" (CAD V. 55-56). This same range of meanings is found in Akkadisches Handwörterbuch (p. 283), and these entries do not appear to parallel the meanings for dsr.

In late Hebrew, the word אשׁג is found. Here it means "bridge" and "dike" (BDB, 178). The Arabic term יייע carries similar meanings (Wehr, 125), but verbally it means "to venture," "risk," "to have courage," and in the 8th form it can mean "to span," "to cross," "to traverse" (Wehr, 125). However, in the 6th form there are some especially interesting meanings for

means "to attack someone," or "to be aggressive against someone" (Dozy I, 194). It also can mean "He stretched himself up," "and raised his head," while تجاسر له بالبحما means "He put himself in motion to him with the staff" (Lane I, 424). This meaning particularly was seen as significant for Ember in his attempt to establish a cognate relationship between dsr and the Semitic root גשׁר (Ember 120-121). Of all the various meanings put forward by Ember, it is only Arabic in the 6th form that comes close to any meaning of dsr. What is striking about this is that it comes so close to the root meaning of dsr that we suggested above, viz. "to ward off," particularly with a stick. It is strange, however, that this meaning should be found in Arabic texts of such a late period when compared with the earlier date of the material we are dealing with, especially since neither Akkadian nor Hebrew seem to share this meaning, or for that matter, anything close to the meanings outlined in Wb. Upon examining this Semitic root, a cognate relationship with $\underline{d}sr$ as argued by Ember seems questionable.

A solution to this problem might be found in a slightly different Semitic root, namely אול contains exactly the same radicals as אוֹל with the exception of the metathesis of שׁ and ז. This word means "drive out" in Ugaritic (Gordon 252) and is well attested in biblical Hebrew where it means "drive out," "cast out," "divorce" etc. (BDB 176). This comes very close indeed to the proposed root meaning

of \underline{dsr} . One Ugaritic text in the Ba^Cal cycle is especially interesting;

k<u>tr</u> smdm.ynht.wyp^cr.šmthm.šmk åt ygrš.ygrš.grš ym grš ym.lksih

Kothar fetched down two clubs and proclaimed their names, (saying): "Your name, yours, is Yagrush. Yagrush, chase away Yam, chase away Yam from his throne . . ." (Gibson 43~44).

This text recounts how Kothar names a stick or club "Chaser" to chase Yam. One immediately thinks of the $\underline{d}sr$ sign with the mks staff in the hand(s) used to ward off blows in combat. Ember too was struck by the Arabic text in which a stick is brandished against someone, and in a note states "This explains the sign \checkmark with which the stem $\underline{d}sr$ is written" (Ember 121, n. 1).

While it is impossible to explain fully the etymology of dsr and the Semitic word אלא, it might be suggested that if there be a cognate relationship between the Egyptian and Semitic words; it should be with איז and not אליז. Semantically these two semitic words do not overlap in the ancient sources, whereas the Arabic במדופא the meanings of both roots. Could it be that in proto-Semitic there were two distinct roots that later were confused due to a metathesis in pronunciation? If so, this would explain the abnormal range of meanings for במוח over the meanings for dsr assigned by Egyptologists (who, after Ember, had begun attaching meanings for Semitic

The proposal that $\forall n\lambda$ is cognate with \underline{dsr} is based largely on the semantic evidence, but phonetically it is quite possible if there had been a metathesis, which is not unlikely in the case of final n. This has been put forward only as a suggestion, recognizing that the evidence is quite tenuous, but it may shed light on the problem which other scholars might be able to investigate further. We can only conclude that a cognate relationship between \underline{dsr} and $n\forall \lambda/\forall \lambda$ is not impossible, but cannot be adequately demonstrated by the available textual material.

II. The word dsr -- Dynasties 1-3

With this background study on the sign and its possible meaning, and the examination of the possible cognate relationship between Semitic אוֹשׁר and \underline{dsr} , let us begin our investigation of the uses of the word \underline{dsr} in the earliest Egyptian texts to see just how this word was used. Of particular interest will be verbal uses of \underline{dsr} , which are largely restricted to the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts.

The earliest occurrence of the word <u>dsr</u>, which was mentioned above, is from a stone fragment found in the mastaba of Djet (Petrie 1900, Pl. IV - Figure 1 here). From the 3rd Dynasty, <u>dsr</u> is found again and, as in the case of Djet, this too is part of a Nebty name of a king (Sekhemkhet) (Goneim 1957, 21). Also from the 3rd Dynasty, the prenomen of the great Pyramid builder king is Djoser/Zoser (Lauer 1939, 45, 47, 49, and Gauthier 1907, 50-52). These

usages, unfortunately, tell us nothing about the meaning of the word, but they demonstrate the antiquity of \underline{dsr} since it was used in royal names and titularies in the 1st and 3rd Dynasties. Clearly the concept was well developed before Dynasty 1. The fact that the name Djoser stands alone as a name (i.e. not \underline{dsr} + divine name) suggests that the word had an abstract sense. It is not inconceivable that a god-king of the Old Kingdom (whose epithet was after all c3 ntr) should be called "The Holy One."

Inscriptions on vases from the Djoser complex furnish us with a number of writings that look like dsr (e.g. Lauer 1965, 45, 47, 49 and 61). The writing on these vases is rather cursive and not always clear. Usually the writing looks like Lauer 1963, 45 and 47). In some instances it is written (Lauer 1965, 49) or (Lauer 1965, 49). The inclusion of these phonetic signs leave little doubt that $\underline{d}sr$ is the intended word on these vases. The writing of the L sign is not always clear, but some examples from this corpus show the nodule on the stick above the hand (Lauer 1965, 45 and 47). All of these show one hand holding the stick except #148 (Lauer 1965, 61) which shows two Dsr in some of these inscriptions is used in personal names (Kaplony 1963, 572-574).4 They include: hm dsr (Lauer 1965, 47 and 49) and $s(t)m ext{ } dsr ext{ } k3$ (Lauer 1965, 61). These might be rendered "holy(?) servant/priest" and "holy(?) Sem-priest of the K3." A connection between

priests and the word $\underline{d}sr$ is also attested in the Coffin Texts (cf. pp. 118-119).

Also from the 3rd Dynasty comes four occurrences of the word $\underline{d}sr$ in the tomb of Sokar-kha-bau (Murray only published two wall stelae in her Saggara Mastabas I, plates 1 and 2) which includes the epithet of the jackalgod Anubis -- inpw hnty t3 dsr, the precursor to inpw nb t3 \underline{dsr} , which is attested from the 4th Dynasty onwards (Hassan 1943, 182). There are two writings of $dsr + \Box$ as the determinative (Murray, plate 2). The one writing phonetically spells out the word and omits the _____, which is a rare writing (Murray 1905, pl. 1). In this case, the F functions as the determinative. This word $\underline{d}sr$, as the determinative suggests, was some type of funerary chest or table. These are known as early as the Helwan stelae of the 2nd Dynasty (Saad 1957, plate 27). The exact function of this piece of mortuary furniture escapes us. It seemed to enjoy widespread usage throughout the Old Kingdom (Hassan 1944, 102, 104, 251).

About t3 dsr, we can say more. T3 dsr was one of the expressions for a necropolis (CDME 293, Wb V, 228). Sethe (Kom III, 88) and Murray (1937, 7) thought that t3 dsr may have originally applied to the 1st and 2nd Dynasty royal burial area of Abydos. On the meaning of t3 dsr Morenz (1973, 100) has said:

Originally, at least, this did not mean "glorious land" but "segregated land," since necropolises were located away from inhabited places, once the custom of interring the dead in settlements had been abandoned.

The cemeteries indeed were segregated from the land of the living, and in one sense, the land was considered sacred since the b3 and k3 of the dead inhabited this area. This is no better seen than in the purification (w^2b) of the tomb and the objects taken into the tomb (Hoffmeier 1981, 171-172). A text from the tomb of Ptahhotep the butcher at Saqqara (Jéquier 1928, plate XII), from Shepseskaf's reign says;

如以際 命 多 ~ 所

Every offering which was made for his k3 was purified.

Since the tomb itself was considered to be a "pure place," the abode of the glorious dead, so too the necropolis needed to be a pure and undefiled place. One text from the tomb of Akhethotep says (Urk. I, 50.13);

I made this tomb on the western side of the desert $\underline{\text{in}}$ a pure place.

After this line comes the warning against "impure intruders" (Urk. I, 50.16-51.1):

As for anyone who will enter this tomb in their impurity, and who will do this evil thing, there will be a litigation with them concerning it by the Great God.

This type of warning appears with a great deal of frequency in Old Kingdom tombs (<u>Urk</u>. I, 49.1-4; 122.14-16; 142.15-17)

and is the closest thing to the so-called "curses" in Egyptian tombs. They did not survive the Old Kingdom. While this genre of text virtually becomes a stereotyped formula, there are some noteworthy variations which shed some light on the sanctity of the tomb and its potential for desecration. Garnot (1938, 5ff.) has included these spells in his study of funerary texts addressed to the living. His work is still considered the most important on the subject.

One further piece of evidence which demonstrates that the necropolis was a "pure place," segregated from the common land, is found in a variant of the epithet of Anubis (hnty t3 dsr) located in PT \$804d: dsr) located in PT \$804d: dsr. Clearly the necropolis was "the pure land," and the relationship between w^ab and dsr is certain and worthy of further investigation.

The ritual purity of the necropolis, the tomb and its contents was essential for the proper transformation of the deceased into a divine state. Various types of purification were practised very early in Egyptian religious history. The w^cb -priests are known as early as the Second Dynasty in the Helwan stelae where mention is made of w^cb nsw (Saad 1957, plate 29). From these same stelae come reference to incense fumigation.

III. The Word der -- Dynasties 4-6

One of the largest genres of texts from the Old

Kingdom are the offering formulae. While frequently dull and repetitive, they often make mention of \underline{dsr} . The epithet of Anubis (nb t3 \underline{dsr}) appears with frequency in the formulae of Dynasties 4-6, but this does not require any further study since mention of this has already been made above. However, it is significant that this originally Anubian epithet is applied to Osiris starting around the 6th Dynasty (Badawy 1976, figure 19). In subsequent dynasties Osiris is frequently called nb t3 \underline{dsr} , as is Wepwawat (Randall-MacIver 1902, XXIX; Budge 1920, 14) during and after the Middle Kingdom, but still the epithet primarily belongs to Anubis, even through the New Kingdom.

Many of the offering formulae do make additional reference to $\underline{d}sr$ in the expression Ξ Ξ \Box . This occurs too frequently to catalogue all examples, especially since they appear in a somewhat fossilized form. However, a number will be cited, translated and discussed.

An offering which the King and He who is before the sh ntr, he who is in the embalming place, the Lord of the Necropolis gives, that he may be buried in the western desert in his tomb of the necropolis (at) a good old age, that he might travel on the \underline{dsr} way of the west as an honored one.

An offering which the king gives . . . that he might travel on the <u>dsr</u> way, traveling about as an honored one.

From the tomb of Nefer-py comes a text, (Jéquier 1929, 123)

-1124四日一川本はよるので書き

 $htp\ di\ nsw.$. . that he might be accompanied by his k3w, that he might be caused to ascend by the great god on the \underline{dsr} ways on which an honored one travels.

It will be immediately evident to Egyptologists that these expressions are variants on the more widely used w3(w)t nfr(w)t. However, there are several examples in which these offering formulae contain both expressions.

[] 소 (미남 오름 수 V ··· 음소 오를 누 I ··· (Junker, Giza VIII, 125)

that he might be accompanied by his k3w on the \underline{dsr} ways . . . that he may travel on the nfr ways . . .

(Simpson 1976, Figure 33)

. . . that he might be buried well in his tomb which is in the west, that he might travel on the nfr ways, that he might be accompanied by his k3w, that his hand be taken by the Great God, that he be conducted on the \underline{dsr} ways on which an honored one travels.

One can cite other occurrences of this formula where both \underline{dsr} and nfr are used adjectivally with w3(w)t. Some of these are found in the tombs of Ptahhotep (Junker, Giza XI, 266) [see Figure 7]: Ka-inpu (Mariette 1889, 412-13); and

Sefget (Fischer 1976, 20). Perhaps due to the influence of the meaning of nfr, scholars have translated dsr with more aesthetic meaning; W.K. Simpson, (1976, 21) "splendid roads"; H. Junker (Giza VIII, 129) "prächtigen Wegen," (Giza XI, 267) "herrlichen Wegen." However Wb V, 609 renders it "den Weg Freimachen" and M. Lichtheim (1973, 23) "the holy ways."

The meaning of w3wt dsrt, it appears, is to be found in a proper understanding of the verbal use of dsr where the w3t is the object of the action. Examples of the type of usage are known from Old Kingdom through the Third Intermediate Period (Corteggiani 1979, 133-38; Jacquet-Gordon 1967, Pl. XI). Let us examine these texts to determine what is the meaning of this obscure action.

Faulkner renders this "for the roads of the celestial expanses which lead up to Horus are cleared for you" (1969, 144). Here Sethe (Kom IV, 10) translated \underline{dsr} as " \underline{gebaut} ." The first question to be asked is what are the roads (w3wt)?

E. Brovarski (1977, 107-110) has recently argued that the expression $\underline{c}3.wypt$ (the doors of heaven) were the dual entrances of the "tent of purification" which stood at the water's edge and marked the beginning of the funerary complex. Magically, entering this stage of the funerary ceremony was the beginning of the heavenly realm (Hoffmeier 1981, 175-177). From the scenes which Brovarski points to, it is clear that

there are two doors at either end of the "tent of purification" which are approached by two paths or roads. In the tomb of Qar (Simpson 1976, fig. 24) the two paths are labelled w3t. Could it be that the use of w3(w)t in the offering formulae is referring to these paths of the necropolis? Another possibility is that the w3t could be the ramp leading from the purification area up to the pyramid itself. In either case, PT §801b could be referring to the celestial counterpart to these paths.

Closely connected to the expression $\underline{d}sr$ w3t (as in §801) is PT §515a:

hum weithas

Wenis has cleared the night, Wenis has dispatched the hours.

Sethe (<u>Kom</u> II, 383) translates \underline{dsr} as "<u>geordnet</u>" which, while making sense, does not fit the semantic range of \underline{dsr} (<u>Wb</u> V, 609-611). CT I 223a contains an interesting parallel to PT \$515a, \underline{dsr} pt h^{ac} 3htyw -- "The sky is cleared, the horizon dwellers are joyful." Faulkner (1969, 102, N. 1) suggests that the clearing of the sky was to enable the "time-marking stars" to be made visible.

Faulkner's understanding of \underline{dsr} as "to clear" seems to have captured the intended meaning. However, the sense is different from wb3 w3t, wpi w3t, and wn w3t. Wb3 w3t literally means to clear away in the sense of "exploring" or "trail blazing" (\underline{CDME} , 58). This view has been challenged by Kadish (1966, 23-28) who argues that wb3 w3t means

"to make rounds" (i.e. to inspect). However, $wpt \ w3t$ means "open the way" (<u>Wb</u> I, 300) as does $wp \ mtn$ (<u>Wb</u> I, 301) and $wn \ w3t$ (<u>Wb</u> I, 311-312). These expressions all have rather specialized nuances and really do not elucidate the meaning of $dsr \ w3t$. The meaning of $dsr \ w3t$, it appears, has more of a ceremonial or magical meaning than these other expressions. In order to demonstrate this we must examine texts from the Middle and New Kingdoms.

In a rather lengthy inscription of the Steward Henu, from the reign of Mentuhotpe Seankhkare, we find an occurrence of the expression \underline{dsr} w3t. This text from the Wadi Hammamat recounts the events of an expedition to Punt (Couyat & Montet 1912, 81-84). The text has been studied by Breasted (ARE I, 88427-433), more recently by Winlock (1943, p. 279), and most recently (although only in part) by Friedman (1975, 15-16).

The text tells us that Henu is dispatched by the King to direct an expedition to Punt to bring back fresh myrrh. On the trek between Coptos and the arrival at the Red Sea $(w3\underline{d}\ wr)$, we read (1. 11-12) that Henu led the expedition and

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The $s3\omega$ $pr\omega$ cleared the roads ahead overthrowing those who were rebellious toward the king -- the hunters and the children of the highland.

Rendering \underline{dsr} w3t as "clear" accords with the view of a good number of Egyptologists (Wb V, 609, \underline{den} Weg freimachen;

Faulkner 1962, 324; Breasted, ARE I, 8429; Winlock 1943, 279). By "clear" we mean the removal of something offensive or undesirable. In this case, clearing the way of rebels who might interfere with the king's business. This seems to fit well with the root meaning suggested above, "to ward off." In this text it is the \$3w prw who are clearing the road. In a very thorough study of the \$3w prw, Yoyotte (1952, 139-151) has presented textual and pictorial evidence which shows that they were a police force of sorts. The scenes (Yoyotte 1952, 1-4) show the \$3w prw forcefully dragging various officials before the scribes of the treasury. In this Hammamat text, Yoyotte (1952, 146) sees the \$3w prw as a security force whose job it was to keep the way clear of brigands who might be a menace to the expedition.

The next text for consideration is found on the biographical stela of Ikhernofret, the 12th Dynasty official under Senusret III. Here we have the statement (Les. 71.16-17)



In the preceding lines, Ikhernofret has been recalling the part he played in the Abydian Osiris ritual, which involved preparing the god's bark with the necessary equipment so that it could go to Peker (the Osiris precinct). Then we read the text under study:

I cleared the ways of the god to his cenotaph south of Peker. I protected Wen-nefer on that day of the great fighting. On the sandbanks of Nedyt I overthrew all his enemies.

Here $\underline{d}sr$ w3t may carry the same meaning as in the Henu text, namely that Ikhernofret was clearing the way of the enemies of Osiris. This, of course, is referring to the mock battle in which the forces of Seth and Osiris clash in the "Osiris Mysteries." On the other hand, $\underline{d}sr$ w3t here may have a more ceremonial meaning. Since the action of $\underline{d}sr$ w3t occurs in the procession to the cenotaph, perhaps this expression should be examined in a mortuary context (Gaballa and Kitchen 1969, 42).

the nobility or royalty of Egypt was a very elaborate affair, with many ceremonial, magical, symbolic and ritual components (Wilson 1944, 201-218; Lüddeckens 1943; Settgast 1963). One can obtain a very good picture of Egyptian funerary practices from illustrations in tombs. From the Old Kingdom (Simpson 1976, Fig. 24; Blackman 1953, plate 42) through the New Kingdom (Davies 1942, plate 25; Säve-Söderbergh 1957, plate XXIV) we can observe very little change in the essentials of the funerary ceremonies. In the procession to the tomb, the cortège is usually led by a lector priest (hry-hb) reading the appropriate spells. A number of other priests follow who are dancing, carrying a censer, pouring libations and banging sticks together. Of particular interest is the text accompanying the processional scene in Ramose's

tomb (Davies 1942, figure 24) which states:

571可以照到对了50mm的中心。20km

Using incense, pouring libations, purifying the way to the necropolis in front of Osiris . . . Ramose.

To the right of this text is a shorter one which ways sw^cb $m\ irtt$ - "Purifying with milk." Blackman (1921, 60) thought that the milk was that of Isis (see PT 8734). All of the actions recorded and portrayed here are a part of maintaining the purity of the mummy that has just come from the w^cbt ("the pure place", i.e. the embalming place), until it reaches the tomb. Could it be that one meaning of $\underline{d}sr$ w3t is "to make the way holy"? The act was intended to rid the path of polluting forces that could desecrate the body and hence the necropolis and the tomb.

In support of such a view, consider the sequence of scenes and texts from the tomb of Rekhmire (Davies 1943, plate 89) [Figure 9]. On the left we see a hry-hb (lector priest), who was an officiant in the embalming and/or burial ceremony for Rekhmire. The priest is shown entering and emerging from a sh ntr. The text reads: Prt hr t3 in hry-hb imy-hnrt, chc r-rwty sh ntr itt wcb tp mr -- "Proceeding on the land by the lector priest and chamberlain. Standing at the entrance of the purification tent taking an ablution over the trough." (The writer has already written in some detail on the Rekhmire scene, and the meaning of sh ntr in SAK 9, 1981, 173-175). The lustration is shown taking place to the right of the vertical register. The

threefold appearance of the priest suggests that three separate rites were performed, twice each $(w^cb\ sp\ snw)$. The rite now completed, the priest is shown about to enter yet a second booth. The accompanying text reads: $prt\ hr\ t3\ dsr$ in $imy-hnrt\ hry-hb$ -- "Proceeding on to the necropolis by the chamberlain and lector priest." While it is not altogether clear, it might be that this second booth marked the entrance to the $t3\ dsr$.

In the Middle Kingdom Theban tomb of Antefoker an inscription in the funeral ritual reads:

(Davies 1921, pl. 21)

"Putting to shore at the <code>mww-pavilion</code> at the entrance to the necropolis." W.C. Hayes (1939, 15) observed that in the later period the <code>mww</code> dancers "served as guardians of the gateway of the necropolis." Perhaps the sh n mww mentioned in the Antefoker text, which was located at the entrance (r-rwty) of the necropolis, served as a guard house. If this was the case, then the first booth or pavilion depicted in the Rekhmire scene might be the same structure.

The point is that the priest and everything that entered t3 \underline{dsr} had to be ceremonially pure. The expression \underline{dsr} w3t in the funerary contexts seems to mean "clear the way" of impurities by means of the various purification rites (e.g. as seen in the Ramose inscription). It is within this context, perhaps, that the "warning" inscriptions from Old

Kingdom tombs should be understood (see discussion above, pp. 16-17). An impure intruder, just like impure food, objects, priests and the corpse itself, could desecrate the tomb.

Additional examples of the expression <u>dsr</u> w3t from the New Kingdom could be cited here, particularly several occurrences in the Book of the Dead. However, these will be dealt with below in the New Kingdom section.

This leads us back to the dsr w3t expressions as found in the htp di nsw formulae. It was observed earlier (pp. 18-19) that the occurrences of dsr w3t in these formulae are frequently paralleled in the same text with w3t nfrt. Since nfrt is usually translated "good" or "beautiful" in these texts (Junker 1947, 129; Simpson 1976, 20-21), it appears that this has had some influence on how scholars have rendered dsr for both words are used interchangeably. Donohue (1978, 145-46) has recently noted that nfr and $w^{c}b$ enjoy a degree of interaction in funerary texts. maintains that the sense of the word nfr is far more "dynamic" than "good" or "beautiful." Not only does the relationship with $w^{\mathcal{C}}b$ support this, but also the meaning of "youth" which frequently is attached to nfr (Donohue 1978, 147). Thus Donohue (1978, 148) concludes that the meaning of nfr in mortuary contexts means "rejuvenation," as in the expression pr nfr where the embalming of the deceased took place.

We have already noted (pp. 16-17) that there seems to have been a close relationship between w^cb and dsr. This is most evident in PT 8804d where the normal epithet of Anubis (hnty t3 dsr) contains the variant hnty t3 wcb. Again the relationship between the words might be seen in the expression sw^cb w3t, which seems to have meanings similar to $dsr \ w3t$. Not only is $sw^cb \ w3t$ used in funerary texts (Davies 1942, figure 24 -- see p. 25 above for discussion of this text), but it is found in religious processional occasions, such as in the Opet festival procession (Atlas, 202) and in the circumambulation of the temple walls in the Sokar festival (Wilson and Allen 1940, pl. 226.41-44). Most certainly, w3wt dsr(w)t does not have an aesthetic meaning, as some have suggested. Rather it speaks of the paths in the necropolis that lead to the tomb that have been ritually and ceremonially cleansed by means of libations, purified by incense, and rid of other evil, desecratory forces by the reading of the appropriate spells. practice that should be mentioned here is the banging together of sticks, as witnessed in the funeral procession in the tomb of Qar at Saggara. [cf. Figure 8] This in all likelihood had the function of warding off evil forces by the noise created. The above mentioned ritual actions, that take place en route to the tomb, are especially interesting in light of the writer's observation of Coptic funeral processions in contemporary rural Egypt.

After the conclusion of the rites at the church, the coffin containing the deceased is carried to the cemetery. Preceding the coffin is a priest accompanied by a number of attendants. The priest chants passages from the Bible as one attendant sprinkles holy water on the path. Meanwhile, another attendant waves a smouldering censer as a fourth man clangs cymbals together. One cannot help but feel that the Coptic ceremony may well contain vestiges of rites whose roots can be traced back to Egypt's earliest history. Before drawing any conclusions on this point, one would like to see some ethnographic study made on Coptic funerary practices.

In one sense the expression \underline{dsr} w3t simply means "clear the way." However, as Corteggiani (1979, 138) has argued that based on a stella from the Saite period, the word has a more dynamic meaning since it is used in religious processional contexts. \underline{Dsr} w3t included a number of rites to secure a \underline{dsr} quality for the path on which the fetish of a god or purified mummy was to travel.

IV. Dsr in the Pyramid Texts.

The Pyramid Texts contain a good number of occurrences of \underline{dsr} in verbal forms. Considerable time will now be given to discussing these.

(The King has ascended on a cloud, he has descended [...equipped ...] The King is a great falcon which is on the battlements of Him whose name is hidden [imm]), taking what belongs to Atum to Him who separates the sky from the earth and the Abyss. (Faulkner 1969, 260)

This text is extremely crucial to our understanding of \underline{dsr} Faulkner's translation as given above appears to have grasped the fundamental meaning of \underline{dsr} . Rendering \underline{dsr} as "separate" is justifed by a parallel Pyramid Text passage which uses wpt in place of \underline{dsr} .

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Wpi quite clearly means "to separate" (Wb I, 298). Both texts are pointing to the moment in the creation of the cosmos when the sky was separated from the earth to its position over the earth. Such a separation of sky from earth is also known in Genesis 1:7 in the biblical account of creation. In the Hebrew text, the separation act is described by the word 77171. The concept of separating heaven and earth is also known in Sumerian cosmology, where An (sky) and Ki (earth) are separated by Enlil (air and wind god).6

The separation of sky and earth is also mentioned in the Coffin Texts. These spells are written with wpt (CT IV, 36f) and \underline{dsr} (CT III, 49e). This same formula is hypostatized in CT II, 39f: $\frac{1}{2}$

The theogonic doctrine of Heliopolis took over this idea (separating earth and sky) and gave it a classical formulation. The air-god Shu, son of Atum, separates the sky-goddess Nut from the earth-god Geb, by raising her up. This is said to have been done in obedience to an order by the Heliopolitan primeval god . . . The idea of a separation of the sky from the earth is also implicit where we hear that a deity "raises up the sky," which had

therefore originally been beneath . . . Thus in Egypt the separation of natural phenomena is another expression of the creative act.

Here Morenz sees a relationship between the "separation" of the sky and "raising" the sky. In PT \$1405 earth is raised (&3i). It is this type of text which has led some, including Ember (120, N. 4), to translate $\underline{d}sr$ as "to raise" in some contexts. In fact Ember points to PT \$1778 for his evidence.

The Pyramid Texts and the Coffin Texts use both $\underline{d}sr$ and wpt interchangeably for the action of separating sky from earth. The use of k3i, while describing the same event, might only be portraying a vertical perspective of the separation act. Therefore, one cannot impose the meaning "be uplifted" (k3i) upon $\underline{d}sr$.

 $\underline{\textit{D}}\textit{sr}$ is also used verbally in PT §399c.

Faulkner renders this passage (339c) as:

(They bring me these four spirits, the Elders who are at the head of the wearers of the side-lock,) who stand in the eastern side of the sky and who lean on their staffs (1969, 72).

Faulkner's translation of $\underline{d}srw$ as "lean" follows the lead of Sethe (Kom III, 25) who renders it "stützen." Piankoff (1964, 39) and Spiegel (1971, 248) understand $\underline{d}srw$ in precisely the same way. If "to lean" is the meaning of $\underline{d}srw$, it appears not to be connected to the root meaning of $\underline{d}sr$ or its subsequent semantic development. This would mean that this translation of $\underline{d}sr$ is a hapax. The meaning

"to lean" may have been reached by these scholars because of similar texts like PT \$8815-816, which reads:

(If you wish to live, O Horus in charge of your staff of justice, then you shall not close the doors of the sky, you shall not slam shut its door-leaves before you have taken the King's double to the sky,) to the nobles of the god, to those whom the god loves, who lean on their staffs, the guardians of Upper Egypt. (Faulkner 1969, 146-147)

The key word here is tw3. This word has a long history, spanning the time from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period (Wb V, 248). While it does mean "to lean" (stützen), it also means "to raise" (hochheben) and "to bear," "to support" (tragen) (Wb V, 248.12-15). But Faulkner and Sethe (Kom IV, 54) preferred the meaning "to lean," no doubt because of the presence of hr. Here they are undoubtedly right, but to impose the meaning of tw3 upon dsr is unwarranted.

The cosmogonic act of separating heaven and earth, as we have noted, is characterized by the terms \underline{dsr} and wpi. Within Egyptian mythology there are different views as to how this separation is maintained. In PT \$1471 the arms of Shu are under Nut maintaining that separation. Likewise the Coffin Texts (II, 8b) speak of $sw\underline{t}s$ sw, the supports of Shu. Faulkner (1959, 266-70) has made an important study of Shu in the Coffin Texts, where he observes that the deceased associated himself with the weary arms of Shu that have been sustaining the sky since creation.

Clearly Shu is the maintainer of the separation, but as Faulkner's study reveals, Shu is seen (in the Coffin Texts) as having a vital function in creation, more than just the deity who upholds the sky with his arms.

But Shu is not the only divinity associated with the supporting of the sky. In her form as a cow, the sky-goddess Hathor's legs hold up the sky, her underside being the firmament (Piankoff 1955, plate 65; Bleeker 1973, 46-47). In a less personified view, four pillars (shnt) support the sky over the earth in PT 81559.

Returning to PT §339c, it might be that the reference to the d^{cm} alludes to these support poles. Mace and Winlock (1916, 89) suggested such a correlation many years ago [cf. Figure 10]:

The connection of the zam (\underline{d}^{Cm}) staves with heaven is curious. It recalls the familiar representation of uas (w3s) staves in temple scenes, in which two of the staves serve to enclose the scene, and incidentally act as supports for the ends of the "heaven" sign that as stretched above it. Can it be that the uas (w3s) staff was sometimes looked upon as still another variant of the "pillar of heaven"?

The w3s scepter is a well known symbol of stability. Iconographically the w3s and \underline{d}^cm scepters look very much alike and could easily be interchanged, and perhaps confused. It could be that the meaning of w3s affected the meaning of \underline{d}^cm , and in the Pyramid Texts it is usually the \underline{d}^cm -staffs that support the sky (PT 88348, 360, 1456, and 1510). Spiegel (1971, 361, N. 61) maintains this position.

Recognizing that the $\underline{d}^{\mathcal{C}m}$ -staffs acted as supports for the sky, which had been separated from the earth, the rendering of PT §339c $\underline{d}srw$ hr $\underline{d}^{\mathcal{C}}mw.sn$ as "who lean on their staffs" seems questionable. The four spirits in §339 are elsewhere identified as four gods (§348a), and more specifically as "the four gods created by Geb" (§1510a). In §§ 348a and 1516a there are four gods ${}^{\mathcal{C}}h^{\mathcal{C}}$ hr $\underline{d}^{\mathcal{C}}mw.sn$ -- "who stand at/with their staffs" (Faulkner 1969, 74 and 231). It seems unlikely that in §339c they could also be leaning on the four staffs which represent the four cardinal points that sustain the sky. We submit that this line might be rendered, "these four spirits . . . who stand in the eastern side of heaven who separate with their $\underline{d}^{\mathcal{C}}m$ -staffs." $\underline{D}srw$ here might imply that the separating actually took place with, hr the $\underline{d}^{\mathcal{C}}m$ -staffs (Wb V, 610.9).

This understanding can be supported by CT III, 49e:

Because this staff which separated heaven and earth is in my hand.

This text has been translated similarly by Faulkner (1973, 148) and just recently by Kadish (1979, 206). Alternatively, <u>dsrw</u> might be an imperfective active participle, stressing the continuative nature of the separating. The staffs, in other words, maintain the separation that took place at creation. Hence, in the iconography, the <u>dem</u> and/or w3s is shown upholding the sky. [Figure 10]

PT \$339a-c is preserved with remarkable accuracy in

Here, curiously enough, Faulkner's translation in his

Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts (II, 299) is quite different

from his treatment of the Pyramid Text spell:

They bring him these four spirits, the Elders who are before them of the braided locks, (who stand) in the eastern side of the sky, who are upraised on their $d^{c}m$ -staffs.

Here Faulkner abandons his earlier preference of \underline{dsr} hr "lean on" for "upraised on."

This spell survives in the Book of the Dead, chapter 30A, 4-5, where some variation is found:

Allen (1974, 40) renders this "Hail to you, ye gods who preside over the Tressed Ones and grip your scepters."

Once again we encounter yet another translation for dsrw, which if correct would be a hapax. Allen's understanding of dsr seems doubtful in light of BD 71.20 where we find the expression in the scepter which is in your grip/grasp." #fc is the word used to describe "gripping" an object (Wb III, 272).

P. Barguet (1967, 75), in dealing with this difficult passage, offers this reading, "qui s'appuient sur leurs sceptres." He seems to have been influenced by Sethe's

understanding of PT §339c.

The Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead show us that the expression $dsr hr d^cm.sn$ made very good sense to the Egyptians over a 1000 year period of time, for there were no alterations made to this phrase. The problem with understanding the text lies with us. This is certainly evident in how Egyptologists have differed so radically in their translations. While we would avoid being dogmatic, it appears that the meaning proffered above is close to the truth since we are operating with a meaning that fits into the semantic range of dsr. However, we recognize that the appearance of hr after dsr creates a grammatical problem since hr usually does not mean "with" or "by means of." The editors of \underline{Wb} (V, 611.9), however, are prepared to make an exception in this case -- hr = mit.

One might expect to find m or im if instrument or means was intended. However, in the Pyramid Texts there are a few examples where m and hr are used interchangeably (§§769b, 1532c and 253; Cf. CT IV, 222b).

Another spell which has been treated like \$339c by Faulkner and Sethe (Kom V, 379) is PT \$1456c-d:

(I live beside you, you gods of the Lower Sky, the Imperishable Stars,) who traverse the land of Libya, who lean on your $d^{C}m$ -staffs; I lean with you on a w3s-staff and a $d^{C}m$ -staff. (Faulkner 1969, 224)

Here again we encounter the expression dsrw hr dcmw.sn.

However, the context is somewhat different than in §339c where the staff was associated with the support pillars of the sky. Here we are dealing with a nautical situation, as the word hns + determinative suggests. The king is identified with a star that is traversing the sky (§§1454-55). This being the case, leaning on the staff makes very little sense.

PT \$\$1431c-1432a may shed some light on our text:

(. . . this King goes to his double, to the sky.) A ladder is set up for him that he may ascend on it in its name of "Ascent to the sky"; its ferryboat is ferried across for him by means of the staffs of the Imperishable Stars. (Faulkner 1969, 221)

The bark was propelled by (in) the staffs $(\underline{d}^c m w)$ of the Imperishable Stars. $\underline{D}srw$ hr $\underline{d}^c m w$ in PT 81456c-d should be understood in the same way. Wb V, 609.11 suggests that the root meaning of $\underline{d}sr$ may have been "eine körperliche Handlung mit der Hand." This fits well with our suggestion that the root meaning may have been connected to the use of the parrying stick, used to ward off the blows of an attacker. Inherent in the meaning of $\underline{d}sr$ is the idea of a vigorous waving motion. The occurrence of $\underline{d}srw$ in \$1456c may point to the movement of the \underline{d}^cm staffs in the propelling of the king's bark. Perhaps these staffs were used as punting poles.

In his study on Egyptian navigation, Boreux (443-44) points to PT \$1456 as evidence for the $\underline{d}^{c}m$ and w3s being

navigational tools used in directing a boat. He renders this passage as "(O dieux) . . . qui dirigez la manoeuvre au moyen de vos batons $\underline{d}^{\mathcal{C}m(w)}$ " (Boreux 444, N. 6). He claims that, while he could find no pictorial evidence to support this for the Old Kingdom, there are examples from the Middle Kingdom sarcophagi. However, boating scenes from the Old Kingdom frequently show punting poles with a forked end (Davies 1901, plate XIV). [Figure 11]

From the late New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate period come some astronomical scenes which may illuminate the problem of the \underline{d}^{cm} staff being used for navigational purposes. The scenes in question show various constellations traversing the sky in their barks (Neugebauer and Parker, plates 18 and 20). Occasionally the anthropomorphic deities are shown holding a \underline{d}^{cm} (or perhaps a w^3s) staff in one hand. [Figures 12 and 13] While the \underline{d}^{cm} might only be a symbol of divinity, it might be suggested, in the absence of any oars or punting poles, that the staff in the hand of the deity had both symbolic and pragmatic functions. The \underline{d}^{cm} may well have doubled for an oar, punting pole, or steering device.

The action of \underline{dsr} with a $\underline{d^cm}$ or w3s staff, as seen in PT \$1456c-d, seems to be describing some phase of the navigational process; rowing, punting, or steering. Precisely which one is not clear. \underline{Hr} $\underline{d^cmw.sn}$ might be rendered "with or by means of their $\underline{d^cm}$ -staffs" (W. Davis 1977, 175). While one might expect \underline{m} $\underline{d^cmw.sn}$ for such a translation,

hr occasionally replaces m in the Pyramid Texts (§769b and 1532c use m in the same expression, §253d employs hr in its place). Similarly, see CT IV, 222b where 7 versions use m and hr appears 4 times.

Support for <u>dsr</u> in a navigational context is also found in Middle Kingdom sources. From the Coffin Texts (CT VI, 269), a biographical stela (Sethe 1928, 74.6-9) and a letter to the dead (Piankoff and Clère 1934, 162) comes the phrase:

Dsr hpt(w) appears to mean "steer" (Wb V, 610.5) or, as Piankoff and Clère (1934, 162) suggest, "direct the oar." The idea that this conveys is the movement of the oar. This fits the notion of eine körperliche Handlung mit der Hand (Wb V, 609.11). Faulkner's suggestion that \underline{dsr} w3t means "ply the oar" (CDME 168) is very attractive. The connection between \underline{dsr} hpt(w) and \underline{dsr} hr \underline{d}^cm as some sort of rowing or steering action with a stick or staff seems quite apparent.

The expression $\underline{dsr} \cdot rmn \ \underline{hr} \ i3btt$ appears in the Pyramid Texts with some frequency, and it seems to be an epithet of Re (\underline{Wb} V, 610.10 and \underline{Kom} I, 143) or Min (Faulkner 1969, 59, N. 6). The texts read:

\$253b \$ \$ 1 1 1 m 4 2 9 4 2

(Horus . . . His messengers go, his couriers run,) they bear tidings to him whose arm is raised in the East. (Faulkner 1969, 59)

\$769b []][m] }] ... } - ~ \$\ \$

(Horus . . . His messengers go, his couriers run,) they announce him to the Holy One in the East. (Faulkner 1969, 59)

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(O Osiris the King . . . your couriers run, those who stand before you hurry) that they may announce you to Re as one whose left arm is raised. (Faulkner 1969, 233)

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(Horus . . . Go, you messengers of his! Run, you couriers of his! Hurry, you heralds of his!) Go to Re and tell Re that an arm is raised in the East (when he comes as a God.) (Faulkner 1969, 270)

This expression is found again in a poorly preserved spell in PT §2175. Since the text would require some restoration, it will not be considered for it does not contribute any additional data not in the other four spells.

A perusal of these texts shows that the contexts of the four are somewhat similar. In each case heralds are announcing their message to or about the deity whose epithet is $\underline{dsr}\ rmn$. . . There seems little question that all four represent the same epithet despite the orthographic or grammatical variants. The second and fourth texts read . . . $m\ i3btt$, while the first replaced $m\ with\ hr$ and the second text appears to have omitted rmn. The first text requires a slight emendation, the addition of sw after hww.sn. After making these observations about some of the philological problems in the text, the meaning of the epithet remains somewhat obscure. Faulkner (1969, 59, 233, 270) gives the meaning of dsr as "raised." Here he is apparently

following the lead of Sethe (Kom I, 245) who rendered it erhebt. More recently, Spiegel (1971, 224) also translated it erhebt. This meaning is also one of the entries in Wb V, 610. In the discussion surrounding the separation of earth and sky, we found little ground for the meaning "to raise" coming from the expression dsr pt r t3.

Before considering the phrase dsr rmn further, let us examine another use of $\underline{d}sr$ which has been cited as evidence for the meaning "raise." The name of one of the many serpents encountered in the Pyramid Texts is \\\ \delta \text \ \delta \text \ \delta r \ tp (PT \$\$401b, 438a-b, 673d and 679e). Ember (1913, 120) rendered it as a serpent "whose head is upraised." A wide range of translations have been given for this name. Sethe (Kom II, 137) rendered it "Die Schlange mit erhobenen Kopf." This was followed by Faulkner (1969, 81, 88, etc.) and Mercer (1952, I. 93) in their translations of the Pyramid Texts. Likewise Spiegel (1971, 448, N. 47) agreed with this understanding of \underline{dsr} tp and saw it as a description of a cobra's posture. His argumentation is not particularly convincing because nowhere is dsr tp associated with the standing cobra $(\underline{d}t)$. Those who favor the meaning "raised head" see the determinative was supporting such an understanding, since the serpent's head is raised off the ground. However, six other serpents are mentioned in the Pyramid Texts with precisely the same determinative, and no one has rendered these as "serpent with upraised head." These six serpents include the following:

These considerations make it highly unlikely that the <u>dsr</u> tp serpent means "serpent with upraised head." If the posture of the cobra had been the intention of the Egyptian writers, then it might be expected that the cobra determinative or 2, (I-10 or 12 of Gardiner's sign list) would have been written and not (I-14).

For <u>dsr</u> tp the meaning "holy" or "sacred" seems to make the best sense. The serpent's name, we suggest, should be rendered "holy of (with respect to) head", or "the holy-headed one." Maspero (1883, 60) many years ago interpreted this expression to mean "le génie dont la tête est sacré." Similarly, A.W. Shorter (1935, 43) translated it "splendid (or holy) of head." Borghouts (1970, 89) renders <u>dsr</u> tp as "he with holy head" and goes on to point out that <u>dsr</u> tp guards the enemies for the king and he wards off his enemies in PT \$401b.

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It is \underline{dsr} tp who guards them for Teti, who opposes them for him.

In PT §679 \underline{dsr} tp is the enemy of the deceased. Perhaps it is from this notion of guardian, protector and something to be feared that the serpent obtains the name \underline{dsr} tp.

The more aesthetic meaning of splendid was also the

view of Breasted (1912, 127) and Erman (1905, 107, 1.11) -- prachtkopf. The equation of \underline{dsr} with pracht or "splendid," it was noted earlier, may be due to the association of \underline{dsr} and nfr. With Donohue (144-45) we agree that nfr has a more "dynamic" meaning than just "beautiful" and "good." Those who have translated \underline{dsr} in this aesthetic way have failed to take this into consideration, and have not recognized the precise root meaning of dsr.

These observations on $\underline{d}sr$ tp lead us to question the meaning "raise" because a number of Egyptologists had assigned to $\underline{d}sr$. Thus we can return to examine the epithet of dsrrmn m i3bt (PT \$253d, 769b, 1532c, and 1862a). It is interesting that in \$769, where rmn appears to have been omitted, Faulkner (1969, 140) should render the passage, "They announce him to the Holy One in the East." In the other sections he renders it "whose arm is raised in the East." How he could treat this epithet so differently, when it appears to be one and the same title, is curious indeed. Erman and Grapow (Wb V, 612.10) see this expression being much like $\underline{d}sr^{-c}$ (which is found in the New Kingdom), as some sort of physical action with the hand. Dsr rmn might mean "an arm moving about (in the East)." However, it is recognized that the exact meaning of this epithet remains somewhat ambiguous.

The next four Pyramid Text sections all include writings of \underline{dsr} that can be rendered "holy." The first is \$537, which is repeated in the next spell (\$538) with some

variation.

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I am a holy one who is in the forefront, who lifts the brow, (a star to whom gods bow, at whom the Two Enneads tremble, and it is my hand which will raise it (wts.f).) (Faulkner 1969, 106)

As might be expected, Sethe (Kom III, 8) translates this section: "T ist Erhabene, der in der Front ist, der die Stirn erhebt." While Mercer tends to follow Sethe in most cases, here he offers the meaning "exalted" (I, 112).8

The setting seems to be that of the king traversing the sky in his bark, which has solar connections. And yet, the king refers to himself as "a star." Perhaps we have here a fusing of solar and stellar mythology.

The fact that the gods bow and the Two Enneads tremble at the presence of the king is strongly suggestive of <u>dsr</u> meaning "holy," that is, a quality of the Osirian King.

The response of these gods to the "holiness" of the king is quite in keeping with Otto's notions of the "the sacred" manifesting itself as <u>mysterium tremendum</u>, <u>majestas</u>, and <u>mysterium fascinans</u>. A similar reaction is recorded at Sinuhe's audience with Senusret I.

I found his majesty, right on the great throne of electrum in a niche. Now while I was prostrate on my belly in his presence, not knowing myself (i.e. my wits left me), this god addressed me cheerfully. I was like a man caught in the dusk. My spirits failed me and my limbs quivered. My heart was not in my body that I might know life from death. (Sinuhe B 252-256)

The hero of "The Shipwrecked Sailor" likewise finds himself in the sacred presence of divinity:

I then heard the noise of a storm and supposed that it was a wave of the sea. Trees were cracking and the earth was quaking. I uncovered my face and discovered that it was a snake that was coming . . . He opened his mouth to me as I was on my belly before him, saying to me, "Who brought you (repeated)? If you delay in telling me who brought you to this island, I will cause you to know yourself, you being ashes, you having become as one who is not seen." "You are speaking to me without my understanding it. Since I am in your presence, I have lost my wits." (Shipwrecked Sailor 56-76)

The experience of Sinuhe and the shipwrecked sailor were similar indeed. The hierophany overwhelmed them both and they fell prostrated before the divine presence, and their senses left them. This well illustrates the human response to the holy, while the response of PT \$537 is that of gods in the presence of a greater god. Describing the divine-king as $\underline{d}sr$ at this point is quite fitting. The reaction of the gods reflect this.

The Osirian king attained such a hallowed state by virtue of the appropriate rituals being performed and his subsequent resurrection. Since Osiris had overcome death, so could the king. In the section of the Memphite Theology which deals with the drowning of Osiris, reference is made to Osiris joining the other "Lords of Eternity" after his resuscitation by Isis and Nephthys (Breasted 1929, Pl. II, lines 61-62).

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He (Osiris) enters the secret portal in the holiness of the Lords of Eternity in the steps of the one who shines in the horizon on the road of Re at the great seat. The writing of dsrw for dsrw is peculiar. Such a writing is found in four witnesses of CT VII, 313c, apparently a Hörfehler for dsrw.9 This writing is a more common writing during the Ptolemaic period (Wb V, 609).

The point of this statement is that by virtue of his triumph over death, Osiris could approach the throne of Tatenen/Ptah along with the "Lords of Eternity" who are described as being dsrw. "Holiness" is certainly a quality one would need to stand before the creator-god.

The next section for consideration is PT \$581c:

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(Horus has laid hold of Seth and has set him under you on your behalf so that he may lift you up $(w\underline{t}s)$ and quake beneath you as the earth quakes,) you being holier than he in your name of "Sacred Land." (Faulkner 1969, 114)

One might be inclined to see \underline{dsr} here as meaning "raise" since $w\underline{t}s$ appears before it, and parallelism might be postulated. Once again Sethe (\underline{Kom} III, 78) has championed this position rendering it "in den du erhabener als er bist in deiner Namen von erhabenen Land." Mercer (1952, I. 119) departs from Sethe's interpretation and translates \underline{dsr} as "exalted" and t3 \underline{dsr} as "exalted land." This entire spell has been dealing with the superiority of Horus over Sethe. PT \$576 says of Horus "you are greater than he. You have proceeded in front of him, your nature is superior to his." In \$581c the comparisons continue: \underline{dsrt} (or $\underline{dsr.ti}$) ir.f -- "(being) more \underline{dsr} than he." Then too, there is clearly a word-play with \underline{dsrt} and t3 \underline{dsr} at the

end of the sentence. Sethe (<u>Kom</u> VI, 208) had noticed this. T3 <u>dsr</u> is the clue for understanding <u>dsr</u> not <u>wts</u>. Discussion of t3 <u>dsr</u> above has already demonstrated, following Morenz (99-100), that t3 <u>dsr</u> means "segregated land," and hence "sacred land." It was also noted that extreme care was taken to ensure that everything entering the necropolis, priests included, had to be purified if the sanctity of the area was to be preserved.

In PT \$581c a comparison of several of the attributes of Horus and Seth were made, including the statement

dsr.ti ir.f m rn.k n t3 dsr. In \$652b we read The Faulkner (1969, 123) has translated this spell as follows:

(O Osiris the King, Awake! Horus has caused Thoth to bring your foe to you, he (Thoth) has set you on his (Seth's) back that he may not thwart you; take your place upon him, go up and sit on him, do not let him escape from you.) Go down, being holier than he, and set danger against him.

Sethe (Kom III, 198) persists in rendering dsr as "erhabener":

"stieg herab, indem du erhabener bist als er. Gieb, was schädlich ist gegen ihn." In a somewhat similar translation, Mercer renders it "Dismount, for thou art mightier than he." Mercer's understanding of dsr here could be closer to Sethe's meaning than it might first appear. Sethe, no doubt, intended "erhabener" to mean "exalted" and not simply "raise" in a purely vertical sense of elevation, for "erhabener" can have this meaning. So both scholars, it appears, thought of dsr being an attribute of Horus.

In PT §45 we have what appears to be another occurrence of $\underline{d}sr$ where the Osiris king is said to be $\underline{d}sr$ in his relationship to Seth.

O Osiris the King, you are secluded (?) because of him; you have brought him to naught -- a <u>dsr</u> mace (Faulkner 1969, 15).

 \underline{p}_{SF} in this spell seems to share the same meaning (especially as the Osirian king is compared with Seth) as \$8581c and and 652b which were examined above. Faulkner (1969, 15, N. 1) recognizes the meaning of \underline{d}_{SF} as "secluded," for he notes, "The translation of \underline{d}_{SF} depends on the notion of privacy inherent in this stem; presumably the king is shut off from his enemy Seth, to whom the pronoun here and in the next clause undoubtedly refers" (i.e. the f and sw).

The next section for consideration is PT \$\$2012b-2013a.

(Raise yourself, O King; may you sit on your iron throne,) for Anubis who presides over the God's Booth has commanded that you be purified with your eight nmst-jars and your eight c^3bt -jars which came forth from the Castle of the God. You are indeed god-like for [you] have shouldered the sky, you have raised the earth. (Faulkner 1969, 290)

Part of this text has been discussed elsewhere by the writer (Hoffmeier 1981). There it was observed that this passage was dealing with the purification of the deceased king

and that the purification was a vital part of transforming the king into a divine state so that he could be transported into the next world (Cf. PT §2100). It was also noted that the phrase prt m sh nt r^{10} could be rendered as a circumstantial clause (prt for pr.ti, a 2nd person old perfective) and not as a participle as Faulkner treated it. Thus it might read "Anubis . . . has commanded that you be purified with your eight nmst-jars and your eight c3bt-vessels when you come forth from the sh ntr." In other words, the sh ntr was the actual place of purification which was located at the entrance to the necropolis where the unclean forces of the deceased could be removed prior to entering the "sacred land" (t3 dsr).

This being the context of \$82012b-c, we can more clearly attempt to understand \$2013a. It appears that this line is somehow connected to the previous two lines. The deceased after emerging from the tent of purification $(sh\ ntr)$ would be considered revitalized and thus transformed into a divine state (Davis 1977, 163-166). "Indeed you are divine" or "god-like" (alternatively ntr.k might also be considered a prospective sdm.f form -- "that you be purified . . . that you may become divine."). Proof of this comes in the following phrase where the king is seen from a primordial, cosmogonic perspective as creator: $Rmn.n.\langle k \rangle^{11}$ $pt\ dsr.n.k\ t3$ -- "You have supported the sky after you separated earth." This recalls the separation of heaven

and earth which we saw in PT §\$1778, 1208, and 339c. The shouldering or supporting (rmn) of the sky (Nut) by the Osirian king might be connected to Shu's upholding the sky with his upstretched arms (cf. PT §1471) or supporting Tefnut (PT §\$288a and 1443). PT §1471 is especially cogent at this point:

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- d. و الشهر على الم

(The protection of Re is over this King and the protection of Re will not be removed from over this king;) Horus has offered this king his arms on his own account and allots this King to Shu, whose arms which are under the sky are upraised. O Re, give this King your hand; O great god, give this King your staff that he may live for ever. (Faulkner 1969, 227)

Once again Faulkner translates \underline{dsr} as "upraised," as does Sethe (\underline{Kom} V, 414). But as we have noted already, the expression \underline{dsr} pt r t3 means "separating sky from earth" not "raising sky from earth." This portion of the spell deals with Horus offering a helping hand to the king in his celestial journey (Faulkner 1969, 227, N. 5). In addition to the arms of Horus being offered, Horus also allots or assigns (sip) the king to Shu, whose arms separated or maintained the separation of the two cosmic forces, and thus Shu's arms would be very dependable in aiding the king. It

is never really clear in the Pyramid Texts that deal with the separation of the sky and earth who is actually responsible for the separation. While we might expect it to be the work of Atum, \$1778 which mentions Atum does not explicitly credit Atum with the separation. It says, "taking what belongs to (hrt) Atum to the one who separates (\underline{dsr}) the sky from the earth and Nun." In PT \$1405 "The earth is raised on high (k3i) under the sky by your arms, O Tefnut, and you have taken the hands of Re; take the King's hand and set him as [a noble one?] among the nobles that the King may sit at the head of the Two Enneads . . . " (Faulkner 1969, 218). Here there remains a slight ambiguity as to whether it is Tefnut along with Re who "raised the earth on high" or simply Tefnut. Another problem here is the uncertainty as to whether \$1405 refers to the primordial separation or the subsequent supporting of the sky. In the literature of the Middle Kingdom there are differences of opinion as to who caused the separation. A 12th Dynasty stela from Abydos (Munro, Plate V and p. 56) reads: wp-w3wt wpt pt r t3 -- "Wepwawet who separated heaven from earth." Wepwawet is no doubt associated with this primordial act since there is an obvious word play with his name (wp) which means "separate," and wpt pt r t3, the very expression found in PT \$1208c and CT III, 49e. In these spells, wpt is used as a variant for dsr.

However, CT II 39 explicitly states that it was Atum who separated (wpt) Geb from Nut. In the Berlin hymn to

Ptah (Wolf 1929, 20, 1.9), the expression "lifter of Nut" $(tw3\ nwt)$ is applied to Ptah. And in the late period, Khnum of Esna is labelled as the one who raised the sky (Morenz 1973, 174). It is quite evident that once the idea of separating heaven and earth was recognized as a very early creative act of the supreme god, other gods in their bid for supremacy are linked with the concept.

Morenz (1973, 173) sees Shu as being the separator "par excellence." However, from the Pyramid Texts it appears that he is the one who maintained the separation that took place at the beginning of time $(sp\ tpy)$. Of course, it must be recognized that several traditions are present in the Pyramid Texts, and so, in addition to Shu, we see a variety of staffs and poles sustaining the sky (PT 88348, 360, 1510, 1528-29, 1559, 1483, etc.).

While the identity of the creator-separator remains somewhat concealed in the Pyramid Texts, one gets the impression that it is Atum or Re (Atum-Re). Atum is portrayed as the creator who existed prior to the creation of earth and sky (§1466) and he created Shu and Tefnut (§1652), presumably to stand between the newly separated heaven and earth. In the Coffin Texts (II, 29) we are very clearly told that Atum attained his position of supremacy by virtue of his creative acts and separating (wpt) Geb from Nut.

Returning now to PT \$2013a, we see that the king is purified in the sh ntr, which is clearly linked to Solar

mythology, and hence Re (Blackman 1921, 44-45 and Donohue 1978, 145). The revitalized king becomes divine (ntr.k r.k)and takes his seat at the head of the Two Enneads (81405-1406), the seat of Atum or Re. PT \$2013a must refer to the king in his capacity of primordial creator-god who separates heaven from earth. After all, \$1466 makes it clear that the king was conceived of as having been created by Atum his father prior to the existence (hpr) of earth, sky and the birth of the gods. Thus PT \$2013a quite logically follows the previous section and is connected with the creative powers of the primordial god. Certainly Mercer (1952, I, 298) has missed the point of this when he renders this section, "Thou art a god who supports the sky, who beautifies earth." Not only does "beautify" not fit the meaning of dsr, but he treats rmn and dsr as participles when they are obviously sdm.n.f forms.

One final observation of this spell, $\underline{dsr.k}$ t3 might contain a word-play of sorts with t3 \underline{dsr} since, after the purification in the purification-tent, the deceased is taken into t3 dsr, as we noted in the Rekhmire purification scenes.

In PT \$506b another occurrence of $\underline{d}sr$ is found, here used as a participle.

(. . . 0 $s\dot{n}d$ -star I will never give you my magic,) for I sit side by side with Her who is holy in On. Take me to the sky! (Faulkner 1969, 99)

With this usage of \underline{dsr} , Sethe departs from his usual translation of erhaben, and here chooses verehrt ist (Kom II, 352).

Mercer (1952, I, 108) follows Sethe and translates dsr as "revered." Sethe suggests that the epithet dsrt m inw applies to the Heliopolitan Ennead (Kom II, 352f.). This would account for the feminine t affixed to dsr (psdt is a feminine word). This epithet is attested in the Book of the Dead where it describes the resurrected dead: "Raise thyself, thou who art sacred in Heliopolis (dsr m iwnw), whom Re begot in the Bnbn-House" (Allen 1974, 219). Similarly, Osiris, in the "hymn to Osiris" is labelled dsrm inbw hd (RB 110.5). The expression dsr m X appears to describe the sanctity of the particular deity in its cult center. Morenz (1973, 100) has noted that frequently $\underline{d}sr$ is used in a cultic context to denote the segregated nature of the shrine within which the particular god's statue is located. This may be what the epithet in PT 8506b means.

With this, we conclude a study of the verbal uses of \underline{dsr} in the Pyramid Texts. In passing we have mentioned other uses of \underline{dsr} in the Pyramid Texts, such as t3 \underline{dsr} , \underline{dsr} tp and the \underline{dsr} -mace. However, there are a few other occurrences in nominalized form, the meanings of which are somewhat obscure and do not illuminate the meaning of \underline{dsr} . But we shall mention them only to provide a complete picture of the uses of \underline{dsr} in the Pyramid texts.

Reference has already been made to the serpent $\underline{d}sr$ tp and there exists another serpent simply called $(\underline{d}sr)$, which Faulkner calls " $\underline{d}sr$ -snake" (PT §673d and

Faulkner 1969, 127). Who V, 617.4 offers no insight as to the meaning of \underline{dsr} , stating only that it is the "Name einer Schlange." One wonders if perhaps this serpent is not one and the same as \underline{dsr} tp with the tp having been accidentally omitted. This seems likely since this particular writing only occurs once in the Pyramid Texts (\$673d).

The word is found in PT \$37d. That this is some sort of mortuary furniture is clear from the determinative, but precisely what its function was remains a puzzle. This chest enjoys a rather long history, going back to the Second Dynasty in the Helwan ceiling stelae (Saad 1957, pl. 27), and found in the Third (Murray 1905, Plate I), as well as the Fourth through Sixth Dynasties in tomb inscriptions (Hassan 1944, pp. 102, 104, 251, etc.).

The determinative in the Wenis texts of \$37d ()

looks like an offering table of some sort. The Neferkare

text reads: . "The lifting up

before him of a sanctified offering" is how Faulkner

(1969, 10) translates this. Other writings of the determinative make it look more like a chest than an offering

table (e.g. , , , hassan 1944, 102, 104; .

Murray 1905, Plate I). We can offer no further observations on this particular piece of funerary furniture

(whether it be a chest or an offering table or both).

The fact that it is a dsr-chest or offering table suggests

that it indeed played a very important role in the mortuary

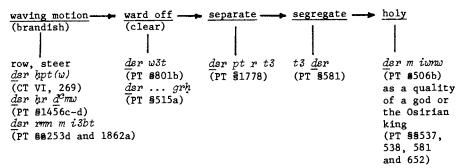
rites (whatever that may have been) and no doubt pointed to its sanctity.

Finally, <u>dert</u> is found, accompanied by the determinative or accompanied by accompanied by accompanied by the dead. Beer, ale, milky ale and wine are all suggestions that have been made (<u>Wb</u> V, 616.7-13; <u>CDME</u> 325). "Strong Ale" is the suggestion submitted by Caminos (1957, 425). That this particular beverage is found exclusively in mortuary texts in the Old Kingdom indicates that it probably was a special drink reserved for the dead. Hence, "sacred" might not be too far removed from the intended meaning. In conclusion, we simply do not know as much about this drink as we would like, and the precise meaning remains obscure.

V. Conclusions

In the foregoing pages, we have attempted to examine the word \underline{dsr} from its earliest appearance in writing (First Dynasty) through the Old Kingdom, with special attention being given to the sign $\underbrace{\hspace{1cm}}$ (as a possible means for ascertaining the original meaning of the word) and verbal uses of the word in order to establish the semantic range. Not in every case were we successful in uncovering the meaning of \underline{dsr} . However, enough examples were intelligible so that we can put forward, with some confidence, a root meaning for \underline{dsr} and the secondary developments from that

, we believe, holds the clue to meaning. The sign the root meaning of dsr; namely to wave or to brandish a stick in one's hand. Very closely linked to this, and perhaps included in the root meaning, is the idea of "warding-off" the blows of an attacker. From this meaning, the idea of separating and segregating emerges. By wardingoff, one would separate or segregate one object or person from another. And that which is completely segregated leads to the concept of "das ganz andere," and therefore "holy" or "sacred." This appears to be the evolution of the meaning of the word dsr which certainly took place in the language before the introduction of writing, because in historical times we can see all of these meanings being used, and the word continues to enjoy this semantic range throughout most of pharaonic history. Furthermore, it now seems rather certain that a number of the meanings attached to $\underline{d}sr$ (e.g. "to raise," "support," "splendid," "beautify" and the like), we have discovered, are incorrect and should be abandoned. The following chart illustrates the semantic range of dsr that has emerged from this diachronic study.



Chapter 2

I. The First Intermediate Period

With the demise of the Old Kingdom, Egypt slipped into a period of relative obscurity known as the 1st Intermediate Period (ca. 2150-2040 B.C.). This period includes dynasties 7 through part of 11. Uncertainty remains as to the cause/s for this "dark age," and reconstructing the history of this period is most difficult. While there are a fair number of provincial tombs from this era, they do not yield any new information on dsr and the Egyptian concept of "sacred." The offering formulae continue in the same tradition as those of the Old Kingdom. Contained in these is the frequent mention of t3 dsr and the epithet nb t3 dsr (Fischer 1964, stelae ##16, 17, 18 etc.; Petrie 1889, plates X-XII), and dsrt ale is also attested (Fischer 1964, #43). While these offer no new insight on our study, some of the orthographic peculiarities in the writing of dsr should be mentioned.

The writings from the Coptite Nome (Fischer 1964, #16-20) are particularly odd, for the determinative (or phonogram) shows the object in the hand being held upside down . H.G. Fischer (1964, 55) sees this development as being restricted to the Naqada and Naga ed Dêr area. However, he offers no explanation for this inversion. Other examples of this orthographic oddity are found on the stela of Hetpi of Dra Abu Naga (Clère and Vandier, 1948, 5) and some are thought to be of Theban provenance

(1948, 5-6). The writing of in this manner does seem limited to texts from the early part of the 1st Intermediate Period. Thereafter no further examples can be cited.

The only explanation that comes to mind for this peculiar writing is that the scribes may have been reinterpreting the meaning of the sign. The object held in the hand consistently appears to be an oar [Figure 14]. Two proposals come to mind that might account for this peculiar writing.

The writing of dsr in all the cases cited appears in the epithet t3 dsr which is frequently followed by -prt hrw. The proximity of the hrw oar to the dsr sign may have led to the inversion. Alternatively, during this period and the Middle Kingdom we see the emergence of the expression dsr hptw which is written as -c (CT VI, 269b) and -c (BD 133.13). As mentioned above, this expression is associated with some aspect of navigation (more will be said about this below.) In PT \$8374c the word skd is determined by -c . The writing of dsr hptw (since hptw means "oars," cf. CDME 168) might have influenced the writing of -c.

Another oddwriting is found on a stela in the University of Pennsylvania Museum (W.S. Smith 1958, plate 57)

[Figure 15]. Here the object is held upright, but bent towards the forearm (perhaps because of the lack of space due to the closeness of the preceding sign and the register line above). The object looks suspiciously like the sign. This anomaly is enigmatic.

The variations in the orthography of during the 1st Intermediate Period, unfortunately, raise more questions than they answer. It might be that the scribes were groping to explain just what the sign meant. But this is true of the Old Kingdom also. Several objects were shown to be held, including the mks staff, the nhbt wand, and a head of lettuce (see pp. 2-8).

II. Dsr in the Coffin Texts.

While tomb inscriptions offer no new information the inscribed coffins of the period, and those of the Middle Kingdom, do provide the largest single corpus of religious texts to have survived from ancient Egypt.

These, of course, are the well known Coffin Texts (CT).

These texts continue in the tradition of the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts, however with omissions, modifications and embellishments. Most of the Coffin Texts are not attested in the Pyramid Texts.

Rather than dividing this corpus into the respective periods they cover, we will examine the Coffin Texts as a unit. After a thorough discussion of the Coffin Texts we will examine other Middle Kingdom texts. In our study of the CTs we will follow the semantic development as outlined above on page 58.

A) <u>Dsr - "Waving motion," "brandish," "wield."</u>

1. $\underline{D}sr$ hptw appears to mean "ply the oar" (\underline{CDME} 168). Sethe (1927, 4 N. 3) saw the parallel use of $\underline{d}sr$ hptw and

skdi ("to sail," "to row" - CDME 250) as clinching the meaning of the former expression. The idea seems to be that the oar (hpt) is being moved about in the water thus propelling the craft. While there are many examples of this expression, they are all nearly identical in their usage.

CT VI, 269b may have been the inspiration for its occurrence in other sources.

When <u>dsr hptw</u> is found in the other texts, it is usually written <u>dsr hptw msktt skdi mandt</u>(cf. the Stela of Wepwawet^Ca; <u>Les</u>. 74.6; Cairo Cat. V, 27; a letter to the dead, Piankoff and Clère 1934, 162; Stela of Amenemhat, Budge 1912, plate 5, 1.7). This expression survives into the BD (133.13). In these texts the deceased is identifying himself with the divine crew of the bark of Re that accompanies the sun-god in his journey through the day and night.

CT, VI 269 (I am Lord of the wrrt-crown at the head of the firmament, and the earth is plowed up for me; I have presented [offerings],) and the firmament has been created for me by the turquoise-folk, I have steered the night-bark (and the sailors of the bark are in joy, while the crew of Re guards the land).

(Faulkner 1977, 222)

This association of the dead with Re is found in the Wepwawet^C inscription ($\underline{\text{Les}}$. 74.6):

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. . . that the arms may be given to him in the <code>nšmt-bark</code> on the path of the west, that he might ply the oars in the <code>msktt-bark</code> and that he might sail the <code>mondt-bark</code>, in order that he might ferry with the Great God in the ferrying of the god to Peker.

Faulkner (1977, 222) rendered it "steered," while in his dictionary (CDME 168) he proposes the meaning "ply the oar." Piankoff and Clère (1934, 162 N. 13-14) translate it "that he might sail (direct the oar)." Faulkner's suggestion in his dictionary seems to fit best the meaning of \underline{dsr} that we noted above. If steering were the intended meaning, we might expect to see \underline{hmv} ("oar," \underline{wb} III, 80) written rather than \underline{hptw} .

In BD 133.13 we find this CT passage preserved this way:

Allen's translation (1974, 108) appears to have completely missed the point - "Osiris N is Re whose courses are concealed in the Retinue of the Deep." In some contexts such an understanding of <u>dsr</u> could be endorsed. Here it appears to be connected to the meaning "ply the oar" or "row." Barguet's treatment (1967, 175) is similar to Allen's; "(Car) 1' Osiris N est Re, a la course prestigieuse, dans la suite de Noun." Allen and Barguet apparently followed the text in papyrus 9900 (British Museum) where hptw is omitted. However, Papyrus Brocklehurst II, the tomb of Amenemha(t), and Papyrus Any all include hptw. Since the majority of traditions preserve hptw, we believe that the expression <u>dsr hptw</u> was originally intended and that it should be understood in the same manner as the Middle

Kingdom texts that contain the expression.

In another CT fragment (Lacau 1906, 47) a variation on the $dsr\ \omega 3t$ formula may be written:

日はとうのにない

If this in fact is \underline{dsr} \underline{hptw} it follows a different grammatical pattern (it usually is $\underline{sdm.f}$) and is not explicitly associated with the msktt-bark. But it may still be connected to sailing since the location of the action is said to be m pt - "in the sky," and therefore still could be the expression \underline{dsr} \underline{hptw} . The appearance of the \underline{ls} before \underline{dsr} points to the pseudo-verbal construction, iw.f + old perfective (Gardiner, $\underline{Grammar}$ §323). Grammatically this suggestion makes the best sense. This text might be translated "The oar is plied in the northern sky . . ." which could be an allusion to the voyage of the solar bark in the sky. If this text is a variation on \underline{dsr} \underline{hptw} , it is an anomaly since the expression is usually written in the $\underline{sdm.f}$ form and applies to the rowing of the msktt-bark.

2. In CT VI, 402b-d the expression \underline{dsr} hr $\underline{d}^cm\omega.sn$ is present. This troublesome phrase was originally dealt with in some detail in the previous chapter (pp. 34 ff.). There we also examined the survival of this spell in the BD. It was very plain that this spell had not been fully comprehended by the many scholars who had studied it in the three corpuses of mortuary literature. We can add no further argumentation than what was already presented. There we concluded that this use of \underline{dsr} was in some way

linked to the navigation of a bark in the after-world, and that it most likely referred to punting. It was also suggested that the expression $\underline{dsr} \ hr \ \underline{d^c}mw.sn$ might be very close in meaning to $\underline{dsr} \ hpt(w)$. In both cases the context is unmistakably nautical and \underline{dsr} seems to point to the movement of the oar or the punting pole for the purpose of propelling the boat.

3. In PT §§253b, 769b, 1332c, and 1832 the phrase \(\frac{dsr rmn m i3btt}{dst} \) was found. It also occurs in CT I, 278c. The context nicely parallels those found in the Pyramid Texts, and it is undoubtedly an epithet of Re (\(\frac{Wb}{U} \) V, 610.10, \(\frac{Kom}{I} \), 143), the meaning of which is not altogether clear. The meaning "Re . . . whose arm moves about in the East . . ." or "whose holy arm (lit. "holy with respect to arm") is in the East" (cf. 40-44) still appears to be closer to the intended meaning than Faulkner's translation "Re . . . whose arm is raised in the East . . ." (1973, 60).

B) <u>Dsr</u> meaning "to ward off" or "to clear."

1. $\underline{D}sr$ pt occurs frequently in the Coffin Texts and has the same meaning as we observed in the Old Kingdom texts, namely "to clear the night" of dangerous, defiling, impeding or generally unwanted objects (cf. pp. 20-22).

One text which especially bears this out is CT V, 388h-i:

He has cleared the sky, he has joined the land together, He has cleared Nut the Great before the great primeval goddess . . .

(Faulkner 1977, 101)

Der.n.f pt and her.n.f pt are a parallel couplet with der and her being synonymous. Her means "dispel, drive away, clear" (CDME 198). In addition to the use of parallelism here, there is an intriguing possible connection between dsr and her. H. Goedicke (1955, 32-34) pointed out that there are a number of Egyptian words that show an interchange between h and d. Included in his first list (p. 33) is dsr and her. He suggests that this interchange may reflect dialectical differences within Egypt. If this was the case, then it would explain why these two words enjoy similar meanings. At a later date the dialectical differences were forgotten and the words regarded as being different and yet synonymous. Thus Fulkner's translation of dsr as "clear" is justified.

In the preceding lines of this spell, Osiris is being roused from death in Nedyt. The "Clearing of the sky" is performed so that Osiris could ascend to his eternal abode. On his journey, he must pass through the sky. There he could be obstructed by any one of his many enemies. Here we are reminded of the Osiris ritual as recorded on the Ikhernofret stela (Les. 71), which was discussed above (pp. 24f.). The text states:

I cleared the way $(\underline{dsr.n.i.}\ w3t)$ of the god to his cenotaph of Peker. I protected Wen-nefer on that day of the great fighting. On the sandbanks of Nedyt I overthrew all his enemies.

In this text it was observed that the way was cleared (\underline{dsr}) for Osiris and that he was protected and his enemies overthrown. The essence of the ritual as recounted by Ikhernofret is what was taking place in the celestial realm as the deceased (Osiris) is ascending to heaven.

The idea of warding off something undesirable is reflected in CT VI, 195. The spell begins with: "Sky and earth are cleared (\underline{dsr} pt t3) of the \underline{Surwrw} ty (?)" (Faulkner 1977, 183). The spell concludes with the rubric, \underline{hsf} $n\underline{hm}$ \underline{hrw} - "TO WARD OFF 'TAKER OF FACES'." Once again the ascension to heaven is likely the context of this spell, and driving away or warding off this creature or spirit who "takes faces" is the target of the clearing (\underline{dsr}) and driving away (\underline{hsf}).

CT I, 223a contains another occurrence of the expression ${\it dsr}\ pt.$

The sky is cleared, the Horizon dwellers rejoice, when Re arises from the Double Gates. (Faulkner 1973, 47)

The reference to Re rising (p^ci) provides the clue for understanding this spell. The daily rising of the sun marked the victory of Re and his retinue over his enemies who lurked in the underworld (night). p_{sr} pt here might refer to the warding off or clearing away these enemies who would prevent Re from rising and entering into day. A similar notion is expressed in CT VII, 418a-b:

(O you who stretch out the bow-warp, be vigilant) and do not let cloudiness come into being among the sun-folk on the day of clearing the god.

(Faulkner 1978, 157)

Faulkner (1978, 157 N. 3) interprets this as follows: "I take 'the god' as referring to the sun, and the whole clause as a demand that the sky be kept clear of cloud." In PT \$500b the clouds are "cleared" or "dispelled" (\$\hbeta_s r). The clouds could obstruct Re's travel across the sky during the day. Hence the forces that control the clouds are urged not to allow them to come into being. In this text \$\delta_s r nt r\$ is written, but it surely means the same thing that CT I, 223a does when referring to \$\delta_s r pt\$ for the rising of Re from the doors that separate the realm of night and day.

Two other Coffin Text spells can be cited which contain the phrase $\underline{d}sr$ pt, but the precise understanding of these remains problematic. The first is CT VII, 18i:

1年世間の代子型した

I am a possessor of a braided lock, I clear the sky for its lord; (he is happy among the gods in the western horizon, and he goes to rest in the horizon with Nu.)

(Faulkner 1978, 9)

On first reading of this text it might appear, as Faulkner has translated it, to be another reference to clearing the sky for the bark of Re. However, another possibility arises when we recall that the wearers of the side-lock in PT §339 and CT VI, 409b-d were identified as the deities of the four cardinal points. This was the spell that we suggested spoke of the separating of sky and earth with the \underline{d}^cm -staffs.

CT VII, 18i could contain the boast of one of these four gods (who has the braided side-lock) who "separates the sky for its lord." The lord of the sky is Re. The separation of the sky from the earth means maintaining the cosmic order that began at earth's creation.

Both Faulkner's understanding and the interpretation advanced here are possibilities. In either case, $\underline{d}sr$ adheres to the acceptable meanings in the semantic range of this word.

The second passage (CT VII, 428) contains a similar problem:

O Shu and Double Lion, Shu in the sky and the Double Lion on earth, it is you who tell me that sky and earth are cleared $(dsr\ pt\ t3)$.

(Faulkner 1978, 158-59)

Lesko (1972, 112) translates this critical section: "Holy is sky and earth." Another possibility is that dsr pt t3 refers to the separation of sky and earth (cf. pp. 31-34). This last interpretation can be ruled out once the wider context of the spell is realized. The rubric which introduces the spell (427a) indicates that the deceased, on his journey to be united with Re, has come to THE FOURTH GATE and meets the porter hsf hr. The deceased is told that "sky and earth are dsr." The command "on your face" (hr hr.k) is given. Faulkner (1978, 159 N. 3) takes this to be addressed to the gatekeeper. This is likely, especially if the command hr hr.k is a word play on the porter's name hsf hr. The porter is simply commanded to honor the deceased (Osiris N.) who

has reached this point in his journey. The next line reads "He enters after hef hr trembled around the holiness of God $(\underline{dsr} \ ntr)$ which reached 'asret' (Lesko 1972, 112). Faulkner (1978, 159) translates this as "I am made to enter, and I make him who glowers (hsf hr) tremble behind the sacred matters of the god." This important section will be dealt with in more detail below when we study the abstract meaning of dsr. Regardless of whether Lesko or Faulkner is correct in their understanding of this text, both appear to be close to the intended meaning. This last line (428a) does assist us in our interpretation of dsr pt t3. It seems that the deceased must enter the fourth gate in a sanctified and pure state. The dsr of pt t3 supports this idea. If the areas through which he was traveling were not dsr (cleared of defiling forces and hence "holy") he could not enter the gate. Thus Lesko's and Faulkner's treatment of this expression seems to hit the mark. To say "cleared" and "holy" (with respect to heaven and earth) is saying one and the same thing in this passage.

2. Closely related to the expression $\underline{d}sr$ pt is $\underline{d}sr$ grh. It is attested in CT VI, 296n:

HOWNERT PARELY. EPARELONG TAREST

(To become Babi in the realm of the dead.) N has cleared the night, the midnight stars tremble at him, he having appeared mighty and equipped as Babi . . .

(Faulkner 1977, 240)

This spell is a garbled version of PT \$515a-b (Hornung 1961, 122; Derchain 1965, 23; Faulkner 1977, 240 N. 1). discussion of PT \$515a (cf. pp. 22-23) we noted that there was some disagreement among scholars as to the exact meaning of dsr grh. Sethe (Kom II, 383) translated this as "die Nacht geordnet." This was also Hornung's (1961, 122) understanding of this expression. Derchain's (1963, 23) translation was similar; "N. a organisé la nuit." Faulkner (1969, 101) departs from the thinking of his Egyptological colleagues and renders it "The King has cleared the night, the King has dispatched the hours: the Powers appear and ennoble the King as Babi." He explains that clearing the night was to bring "the time-marking stars into view in a clear sky" (1969, 102 N.1). Faulkner's understanding of dsr is superior to that of the other scholars mentioned. "To order" or "to organize" simply does not fit into the semantic range of dsr.

In his discussion of PT §515a-b and CT VI, 296n, P. Barguet (1970, 13) concludes that <u>dsr</u> in this context means "mettre a part, mettre à l'écart." Faulkner's and Barguet's interpretation of this expression seems best supported by the evidence. The precise meaning of "clear" or "set apart" is not immediately obvious. Faulkner's suggestion is possible, but he does not really explain what is being cleared away so that the time-marking stars can be made visible. Perhaps clouds are the obvious obstruction. In CT VII, 418b clouds are a menace to the traversing of Re

that must be cleared $(\underline{d}sr)$. This view is also found in PT \$500b where clouds are hsr, dispelled $(\underline{wb}$ III, 338) along with all inclement weather for the ferrying of the Night-bark. With the clouds out of the way, the timemarking stars would be visible to guide the journeying Bark of Re through the dangers of the night.

Another very common use of dsr in the CT's is found in the expression dsr w3t. This expression was studied in some detail on pages 18-27 in the Old Kingdom section. There seems to be a degree of consensus among Egyptologists that this expression means "clear the way/ path" (Wb V, 609; CDME 324). The 11th Dynasty inscription of Henu (pp. 21-23) especially supports this. In this text the way was being cleared of the king's enemies or rebels (sbit) who might obstruct the progress of the expedition on its way to Punt through the Wadi Hammamat. Likewise the Ikhernofret stela speaks of dsr w3t in a ceremonial context, where the enemies of Osiris were being overthrown (shr) in the mock battle against Seth and his followers (cf. p. 23). There is little doubt that $\underline{d}sr$ w3t means "clear the way" of evil, desecratory things, or any obstruc-In a ceremonial or processional situation, it might entail ritual purification of the path before the corpse or cult statue with libations (w^cb, kb) , burning incense (irt sntr), reading magical spells, and by banging sticks together.[Figure 8] When such rites take place, the path

indeed may be considered to be "cleared" and "holy" at the same time. Deciding which English word should be used is quite beside the point since the Egyptians used the word to convey either meaning.

With the meaning of $\underline{d}sr$ w3t now being quite certain, we need not go to great lengths to demonstrate the point in the following Coffin Text examples, but comment will be offered where appropriate. CT I, 223c-f reads:

The Followers have given hands to the Chaos-gods, 1 Horus the Protector of his father is glad; the paths to the gates are cleared, (Anubis is within his castle $(^{\mathcal{C}}h)$ in his service to the Sacred Booth $(sh\ ntr)$. . .)

(Faulkner 1973, 47)

This passage follows the section in which \underline{dsr} pt is found (I, 223a; cf. 67-68) when Re rises in the morning. This is a resurrection theme in Egyptian religion. In 223c-d the focus has shifted on to the deceased who is being transported to the domain of Anubis in the west (224c-e) to be prepared for burial. The "paths of (nt) the gates are cleared" apparently refers to the paths leading to the ^{c}h of Anubis, which might be the name for the mortuary temple in which the \underline{sh} \underline{ntr} is located. In the \underline{sh} \underline{ntr} , the God's Booth or purification tent (Hoffmeier 1981, 172-176) the body begins to be revivified by means of various purification rites. This spell describes it this way:

CT I, 225g: 型製製製工一點 刊口

Magic and protection are woven about you in the God's booth.

It was suggested above that the purifying of the way, along with the reading of magical spells, the burning of incense and the banging of sticks together collectively was how the way was cleared of defilement and made holy. [Figure 8]

CT IV, 68b-c yields another example of $\underline{d}sr$ w3t:

Many a composition of the

O Horus, come to Djedu, clear my ways for me, (and go all over my mansion, that you may see my form and extol my shape.)

(Faulkner 1973, 229)

A. de Buck (1949, 92) in his study of this spell rendered $\underline{dsr}\ w3t$ in exactly the same manner. The rubric "BEING TRANSFORMED INTO A FALCON" (CT IV, 68a) unfortunately does not shed any light on this passage. Faulkner (1973, 232 N.1) offers this explanation as to the context:

The underlying idea is that Osiris summons Horus to Djedu to make report on affairs, but that Horus objects and instead sends a messenger, who has to obtain from the Double Lion the passport of the Royal Wig-cover (nms) before he can proceed on his journey to Osiris.

The idea of the path of a god being cleared is a cogent point for our discussion. The fact that Horus is asked to do this for his father fits with the role of the $s3\ mr.f$ in the funeral service. Ikhernofret, who plays the part of the $s3\ mr.f$ in the Osiris ritual at Abydos, says that he cleared the way $(\underline{d}sr.n.i\ w3t)$ for the god. This may be what Horus is asked to do for his father Osiris.

CT VII, 252, which also constitutes the opening of the "Book of the Two Ways," includes this sentence:

PEINTE WE TENERO WELLER

Trembling falls on the eastern horizon of the sky at the voice of Nut, and she clears the paths of Re before the Great One when he goes around.

(Faulkner 1978, 127)

Lesko (1972, 11) translates this passage similarly:

May trembling befall the eastern horizon of the sky at the voice of Nut as she clears the way for Re . . .

This spell is preserved, albeit with some variants, in BD 133.1. T.G. Allen (1974, 108) follows Faulkner's and Lesko's understanding of $\underline{dsr}\,w3t$, translating it, "She clears the roads for Re . . ."

The rubric leaves no doubt as to the context: "A SPELL FOR SAILING IN THE GREAT BARK OF RE" (VII, 257c). The use of $\underline{dsr}\ w3t$ carries the same meaning as CT I, 223a, VI 296n, and VII, 418a where $\underline{dsr}\ pt$ or grh means clearing the sky or night of objects or spirits that might obstruct the safe passage of the solar bark of Re.

In the preceing examples of <u>dsr</u> w3t, <u>dsr</u> was used verbally to describe the action of "clearing the way" for a deity. However, there are some cases where <u>dsr</u> is used attributively, presumably to describe the condition of a road that had been cleared of desecratory, obstructive forces, and thus could be considered "holy" or "sacred" for a god or Osirianized spirit of a dead man to walk on without fear of defilement. One such example is in CT IV, 83c-g:

上了10分数4分X至300mm。 無一分型为50mm。

(The hostile gods have seen that she incites the Eyeless One against those who shall stretch forth their arms against me.) The Powerful One stands up against the earth-gods, the holy roads are opened for me (when they see my form and hear what I shall say).

(Faulkner 1973, 231)

Here the cleared paths are opened (wn), apparently, by the Powerful One (s_b^*m) for the messenger of Horus who was being pursued by Aker. The path is already considered "sacred" and so had to be protected by repelling $(b_b^*s_f)$ those who would oppose the messenger on his way to report to Osiris or might desecrate it. Once again the protection of something deemed "sacred" is witnessed. This "sacred path" appears to be additionally protected by gates as in CT I, 223c-f; III, 53e, IV, 222-224. Hence the path is opened (wn) for the messenger.

Spell 312 survives in the BD, chapter 78. (This will be dealt with in greater detail in the next chapter). Of course a number of variants occur in BD 78. The passage that concerns us is especially informative. 78.39 reads:

"The Powers clear the way for me." This is precisely how P. Barguet (1967, 116) understood this sentence: "les Puissants ont dégagé pour moi les chemins ..."

On the other hand, Allen (1974, 68) takes der to be an imperative; "Clear the roads for me . . ." In either case

BD 78.39 makes it certain that it is the Powers who actually

 \underline{dsr} the way. This is not clear in the Coffin Text Passage. In CT IV, 83e the text reads ${}^{\mathcal{C}}h^{\mathcal{C}}$ shm hsf m 3kr wn w3t \underline{dsrt} n N pn - "May the Powerful one who wards off the earth-god stand up and open the sacred way for this N." BD 78 makes it clear that the shmw (plural) open the "holy roads." However, hsf is omitted in BD 78. This may be due to \underline{dsr} meaning "clear," which is very close to the idea behind hsf ("ward off," "repel"). Consequently the scribes who worked on BD 78 may have simply conflated the two ideas and chose to use dsr.

CT VI, 135d repeats the same phrase as found in IV, 83c-g, wn.sn n.i w3t dsrt, which Faulkner (1977, 157) renders

(Sky and earth come to me, and their great ones come to me, (even) the gods who are above;) they open the sacred paths for me \dots

A phrase just like this is encountered in CT VII, 144h: wn.n.i///.k w3wt dsrwt - "I have opened (for) you the sacred paths." Zandee (1960, 163) believes that these spells fit into the "ascension of the dead." However, his understanding of dsr which he renders "glorious," simply does not fit into the meaning of dsrw3t as our more detailed study of this expression has shown. In the case of clearing the way in CT VI, 135d it is the great ones (wrw) and the gods above (ntrwhrw) who open the holy paths for the traveler on his way to his heavenly abode.

A final text in this classification of $\underline{d}sr$ is CT VI, 325n:

"Hail to you four times, N!" say your two great and mighty sisters who clear [Osiris(?)] of weakness by means of your sceptre.

(Faulkner 1977, 258)

The lacuna after dsr has probably been rightly restored as "Osiris" by Faulkner. The determinative for deity is clearly preserved, and the deceased, who is identified with Osiris, was addressed earlier in the line, making Osiris the most likely deity whose name had been obliterated. This reconstruction is further supported by the reference to the two sisters, who are Isis and Nephthys. In PT \$6754-55, 1008, and 1256 it is the two sisters of Osiris who find him dead at Nedyt (cf. J.G. Griffiths 1960, 3-6; Bleeker 1958, 2f.). Osiris is being "cleared" of gmwt ("weakness") which for the Egyptians was synonymous with death (Zandee 1960, 11-13). What is most interesting about the action described here is that the "clearing" is being accomplished by means of an cb3, a sceptre (Wb I, 176; Fischer 1979, 18-19). This points us back again to the proposed root meaning of dsr, namely the waving motion of a stick. In this text, the use of the sceptre probably is magical. Gardiner (1946, 51) had suggested that the object held in the hand of the sign might be a "purely magical instrument for 'warding off' people." Isis and Nephthys may well have been trying to "ward off" the force(s) that

felled Osiris, or it may have been a ritual associated with resuscitating their brother.

C) Dsr meaning "to separate."

Quite a detailed discussion was given to this meaning in the previous chapter (pp. 30-37). There it was noted that the separation of heaven and earth was considered to be a cosmogonic act that took place early in creation (Morenz 1973, 173-74). The primary text that led to this conclusion was PT \$1778, a later edition of which is contained in CT VI, 3101:

(He has flown and soared as that great falcon which is on the battlements of the mansion of Him whose name is hidden,) who takes what belongs to those who are yonder to Him who separated the sky from the earth and the Abyss.

(Faulkner, 1977, 248)

While this sentence itself is nearly identical to PT \$1778, the context is somewhat different. The PT spell is certainly an ascension text, whereas the CT version appears to have been lifted out of the PT section and placed into another setting. The most noticeable variation between the two texts is that where PT \$1778 says it hrt itm, CT V, 310 l reads it hrt ntywim - "Who takes what belongs to Atum" -- "Who takes what belongs to those who are yonder." The writing of ntyw im could merely be a garbled writing for Atum, resulting from a Hörfehler. In any event, the act of separating sky and earth from the Abyss describes one of the aspects of creation, and the expression was readily

adopted by gods and resurrected mortals to point to their supremacy because of the role they played in that momentous creative act.

In one such case, where the deceased is being harassed by opponents who want to see him defiled and refused entry into the heavenly realm, he is told "'Eat (excrement),' say they to me. 'I will not eat for you'" (CT III, 49c-d; Faulkner 1973, 148). These enemies try to convince the traveler that by eating the excrement of Osiris he might live (CT III, 50).

In the past 20 years, several studies have concerned themselves with the interpretation of these spells in which the deceased refuses to eat faeces and drink urine. spells 184 through 207 are dominated by this topic. (1960, 73-78) sees the problem being connected to the fear of one's being in the underworld, and hence being upside down (shd) and the digestive system being reversed. would mean that the mouth would now function as the anus, and would be most defiling to the dead person who was preoccupied with maintaining his purity. Since going about upside down was tantamount to death for the Egyptians, Zandee believes that this was the real fear of the traveler in the next world. However, elsewhere in the Coffin Texts (III, 92f-i and 80e-h) we find that the dead person even fears touching bodily waste with his hand or even stepping in it. Eating bodily waste was only one of his phobias. This seems to suggest that there was more to these spells

than just being upside down in the netherworld.

D. Mueller (1972, 119-21) viewed these spells in a slightly different way. He thought that the gatekeepers were trying to trick the traveler into self-desecration. Most recently G.E. Kadish (1979, 203ff) raised questions about Zandee's and Mueller's interpretations. Egyptologists are greatly indebted to Kadish, for in his study he related this problem from the CTs to Mary Douglas' classic study Purity and Danger (1966). The essence of her thesis is that "dirt (any kind) is essentially disorder" (1966, 2ff.). Her findings appear to be rather universal. Kadish (1979, 215-17) correctly relates this to the Egyptian proclivity towards order $(m3^ct)$, be it in this life or in the next. The conclusion made by Kadish, we believe, hits the mark and rightly explains the reaction of the Egyptian when confronted with the detestable command, "eat faeces!" This of course relates to the concept of the sacredness of the glorious spirit (3h) of the deceased and the fear expressed if the travel route was not dsr. But this too, it might be argued, was connected to their concept of order.

Returning now to where we began this discussion, we see the deceased confronted with the command to eat excrement. In CT III, 48-49 the man defends himself against the request of these denizens by making various apologetic statements. In 49e he says:

"Because that staff which separated sky and earth is in my hand" (Faulkner 1973, 148). Kadish (1979, 206) offers virtually the same translation; "'Why' they ask me.
'Because this staff in my hand separated heaven and earth'."
Kadish (206, N. 12) finds this statement perplexing:

Exactly what this staff of the deceased is cannot be determined. A good Freudian interpretation leaps to mind, supported somewhat by Spell 197, in which the deceased says: "My phallus is on me, it being attached." This may be too easy, however. It's a power symbol without question.

We would agree with Kadish that the stick was a symbol of power. The staff (mdw) in 49e was the agent for separating the two cosmic forces. It was noted above that one view held by the Egyptians was that the separation of sky and earth was maintained by the $\underline{d}^c m$ -staffs. [see Figure 10] The actual act of separation, CT III, 49e suggests, took place by means of a staff. Thus it might be that the $\underline{d}^c m$ -staffs originally separated $(\underline{d} s r)$ the sky and earth, and continue to separate the two. If this is the case, then the Freudian interpretation can be dismissed.

The apologetic of the deceased means that he possesses the very staff that was present at the beginning of cosmic history (and thus was a symbol of power). On the one hand he might be threatening the denizens with the stick. Or he might be implying that by virture of its possession, he was divine and would not fall to their ruse. This latter suggestion might be preferable since in 49a he claims to be wearing the sandals of Sokar. By having these symbols of

divinity, he could claim his own divinity. A "doubleentendre" may not be out of the question. He could be both boasting that he possesses this very important symbolic instrument and that he could use it as a weapon against the denizens if needed.

In any event, the meaning of \underline{dsr} as "to separate" is not contestable (\underline{Wb} V, 610). This is because the separation of heaven and earth, both in PT \$1208c and CT III, 209a and IV, 36f is also described by the word wpi which means "to separate," "to divide" (\underline{Wb} I, 198). CT III, 209a is especially interesting to our investigation, for in this case it is sint c3t wpt gb r nwt - "the great sint-pole which separates Geb and Nut." The interchange between wpt and dsr demonstrates that the two words were virtually synonymous.

Spell 1060 also deals with the separating of the sky to its place above the earth. CT VII, 313e is not without problems. One witness recorded in de Buck's corpus (BgC) reads:

I have come from the lifting up of the horizon . . .

(Faulkner 1978, 140)

Of the thirteen versions cited by de Buck, only this one uses the word \underline{dsr} . Four examples read (dsrw), apparently a "Hörfehler" for \underline{dsr} . In six cases the word \underline{tnw} appears in the same spot. In two traditions at the crucial place there is a lacuna. \underline{Tnw} means "to count" (\underline{Wb} V, 376), and this is how Lesko (1972, 71) translated it. However,

Faulkner (1978, 140 N. 1) thought that tnw was derived from the root tni which means "to raise," "lift up" (Wb V, 374), and that this was the intended word. He supports this by pointing to BgC where dsr is used, for he thinks that the "basic meaning" of dsr is "raise," "lift up" (140, N. 1). This understanding of dsr was the view of many Egyptologists (e.g. Ember 1913, 120 N. 4; Wb V, 609). Such a view is supported by PT \$1405 where k3i describes the raising of earth (from the Abyss?) under the sky. The appearance of tni in CT VII, 313e seems to enhance the argument that dsrmeans "to raise" or "to be lifted up." When we considered k3i above (p. 32) it was suggested that, while k3i in this instance may in fact be recounting the same event, the perspective of the spells was different. From one vantage point it would appear sky was raised to its place above the earth where it was sustained by the four poles or staffs that represent the cardinal points. But the separating of Geb and Nut from their original location in Nun (the primordial abyss) is what both wpi and dsr convey. K3i and tni appear to parallel each other in the same way that dsr and wpi do. No scholar would think to suggest that k3i and tni mean "separate" because wpi appears in similar contexts. Therefore imposing the meaning "to raise" on dsr is simply not justifiable. The weight of the evidence seems to favor dsr meaning "to separate" in this context, and it fits perfectly into the semantical development of the word while the meaning "to raise" simply does not.

D. <u>Dsr</u> meaning "segregated."

1. T3 dsr - "the segregated land," "necropolis."

S. Morenz (1973, 99) argued that this expression grew out of the meaning of a segregated area where the blessed dead resided. It was an area "cut-off" from the community of the living, and as we have amply argued above (pp. 16, 17, 23-26), everything that entered t3 dsr had to be properly purified. Even the paths within the necropolis are referred to as w3wt dsrwt (pp. 18-19).

In the Coffin Texts, there is frequent mention of t3 \underline{dsr} , and these need not concern us further. However, an interesting variation on this well known expression is worth examining. In CT I, 159c, 160h, 162d, 1631 and 164c we see the phrase:

"in that sacred land in which he is" (Faulkner 1973, 30). On the one hand this appears to be nothing more than a variant writing of t3 \underline{dsr} . But it is curious that this particular construction only occurs in CT spells 38, 39, and 40. In his study of these three spells, Faulkner (1962, 36-44) remarks that in these spells we have a dialogue between a recently deceased man and his father. The father has already reached his eternal abode, which is constantly referred to as t3 pw \underline{dsr} nty.k/f "This sacred/segregated land in which you/he are/is." The point seems to be that the "blessed dead" (those who are $m3^c$ hrw) were in that place. They had attained it by successfully journeying

through the various obstacles and gaining access to "this sacred land." This is not simply $t3 \, \underline{dsr}$, the necropolis, but the area reserved for those who have attained eternal life. This land is cut off from the living and those still striving to reach the spot (like the son). For this reason the son would refer to that land where his father was as $t3 \, pw \, \underline{dsr} \, nty.k$ (160h) and was seeking his father's help to get there himself.

Whether we wish to call this land "segregated" or "sacred" does not really matter, for that which is completely segregated from the profane world (das ganz Andere), is "holy" or "sacred." The occurrence of dsr in CT spells 38-40 may point towards the abstract sense of dsr (i.e. "sacred") rather than a more literal meaning of "segregated." It must be recognized that at this point the two concepts are so close that distinguishing the one from the other may be unneccessary.

In connection with the "sacredness" of the necropolis and its being off bounds to all but the ceremonially pure, the rubric of CT spell 83 states that the purpose of the spell was to "protect" (mki) the necropolis (hryt ntr). The importance of maintaining the sanctity of the spot was foremost in Egyptian religious thought, for it could be desecrated and seriously affect the venerable dead. The expression hryt ntr(literally "that which is under the god") again points in the direction of the sacredness of the land. Federn (1960, 252) has suggested that

<u>hryt ntr</u> should be rendered "the holy ground." The necropolis (t3 <u>dsr</u> or <u>hryt ntr</u>) was regarded as the earthly spring board from which the dead ascends to heaven (t3 pw dsr) (Brovarski 1977, 107f.).

<u>D</u>sr meaning "seclusion."

This meaning comes very close to the idea of "segregated." In CT VII, 70 we have another survival from PT §45. In both traditions dsr hr.k might refer to Osiris being secluded from his arch-enemy Seth. Faulkner (1969, 15, N. 1), when studying PT §45, felt that "the notion of privacy" is the idea behind the meaning of dsr, which enables Osiris to be hidden from Seth. Although this suggestion is possible, this spell remains somewhat obscure.

Only two versions of this spell are preserved in the Coffin Texts; one published by de Buck (VII, 60o-u; Sq3C) and the other the coffin of Wahkare Akhtoy, published by J. Allen (1976, figures 1-3). The two traditions contain some interesting variants.

CT VII, 60o-u (Sq3C):

(0 N, take the Eye of Horus, the water in which Thoth has seen. Go behind me, N, for I am Isis.) Osiris, take your son, put him within yourself. You are secluded (?) because of him. See, you have brought him to naught.

(Faulkner 1978, 37)

Wahkare (Allen 1976, figure 3, 11. 8-9):

アトのなりとほうことと

(Recitation: I am) Osiris. Geb, take your son; put him within you. Clear off his face -- behold you have blinded him.

(Allen 1976, 10)

The inclusion of Geb's name in the Wahkare text may provide the clue for properly understanding this text. Allen (10) comments: "Geb as God of earth, is requested to clear away the soil that covers the king's face." In the earlier command "Geb, take your son; put him within you" is suggestive of interment. Geb as earth god would be opening up the earth to receive the dead body. If this is true, Allen's proposal that the face is cleared of dirt makes very good sense from Mary Douglas' perspective that "dirt is essentially disorder" (1966, 2). And as Kadish (1979, 215-15) has pointed out, the m3^ct-oriented Egyptians would particularly fear dirt on the face of the pure mummified corpse that is being interred.

With the inclusion of Geb's name in the Coffin Text passage published by Allen, we gain this perspective of the spell, but the coffin that de Buck published does not include the name of Geb, nor does PT \$45, which is clearly the prototype for the later Coffin Text spell. The scribes who wrote the text of the Wahkare coffin (or its parent document) may well have been interpolating the text so that it made better sense. In any event, both

Faulkner's (1969, 15, N. 1) suggestion (that this refers to Horus being secluded from Seth) and Allen's more recent proposal makes sense independently, and both are in keeping with the meaning of \underline{dsr} . One might be inclined to defer to the PT passage simply because of its antiquity and consider that the Wahkare text contains later embellishments.

E) \underline{Dsr} used as adjective or noun.

Eliade (1957, 20f. and 68f.) believes that "sacred" essentially applies to two major area, space and time. Within the Coffin Texts, we see a significant increase in the number of occurrences of \underline{dsr} applied to space or as a quality of divinity. It is the presence of divinity (hierophany) that makes a spot holy.

While such uses were attested in Old Kingdom texts, in the Coffin Texts a dramatic rise in the number of occurrences is noticeable. As the following CT spells are examined, we have attempted to classify the occurrences into five categories: 1) sacred space 2) sacred things (general) 3) sacred things (specific) 4) sacred as an attribute of divinity and 5) sacred as a state or force.

1. In a number of cases, <u>dsr</u> denotes the quality of a place. One phrase that is found numerous times in the Coffin Texts, is <u>m hnw dsrw</u> - "within (or in the interior of) the holy place."

An important development which we see taking place

during the post-Old Kingdom period is that the dwelling place of the gods is called $\underline{d}sr$. This is witnessed by CT VI, 335m-n:

DRIVING OUT TERROR FROM THE REALM OF THE DEAD. Re cries out from within his holy place.

(Faulkner 1977, 265)

The rubric shows that this is another "warding off" (hsf) or protection spell. Apparently some defiling force was coming near to Re's abode which caused him to cry out (sbh) in alarm. For us the important point is that Re is found m-hnw dsrw.f - "within his holy place." In this text this could apply to a shrine or temple in the necropolis area (hryt ntr), although sanctuaries of Re are not usually found in the necropolis. More likely this refers to Re's heavenly home. In either case, we would expect the domicile of a god, and particularly Re who holds a place of pre-eminence in the Coffin Texts, to be segregated from all else, and therefore sacred, unapproachable by impure forces or enemies.

CT I, 191d-192a:

Sound of the serior of the ser

Fall and tremble in the eastern horizon of heaven; show the paths in the holy places to N, he having appeared as Re . . .

(Faulkner 1973, 38)

The main clue that we are encountering a place is $m-\underline{h}nw$ (Gardiner Grammar, p. 134 #8). We cannot be altogether certain what the \underline{dsrw} is. Once again it does appear to be the residence of Re. This proposal is supported by the determinative \square with \underline{dsr} . The following sentences (195f) speak of preparing the deceased for burial and his eventual trek to join Re. It makes very good sense to refer to the supreme god's abode as being "holy." "The paths in the holy places" is suggestive of a larger area, like a precinct, not just a building.

Frequently we find the word $\xi t 3w$ accompanying $\underline{d}srw$. CT II, 135e-g:

(Come, place for me his hp-cord, make for me that guide-line, set aright this plumb-line,) that I may set up the guide-lines of these gods . . . within it, in the secret holy places, the Imperishable Ones who are among (?) them.

(Faulkner 1973, 108)

The writing of ib before $m-\underline{h}nw$ appears erroneous as Faulkner (1973, 109, N. 11) notes; "Surely corrupt. No recorded sense of ib seems to fit." The rubric offers some insight into this spell. 134a states "DIGGING A POND, PLANTING ZIZYPHUS-TREES, BUILDING A [TOMB] IN THE NECROPOLIS." Unfortunately, after kd we have a break in the text, which Faulkner (108, N. 1) restores as is, claiming that the available space would allow for this.

This suggestion is supported by the reference to the cord and plumb-line which are used in building (k,d). In the next spell 116 (II, 136b) the rubric reads <u>BUILDING A TOMB</u>

FOR A MAN IN THE NECROPOLIS, which is followed by the mention of a hp- cord. Faulkner's restoration, in light of this, seems to be correct.

The place described as $m-\underline{h}nw$ $\underline{d}srw$ § t3w likely points to the tomb itself. This would be consistent with what we have already observed regarding the tomb and the necropolis. The juxtaposition of § t3w (meaning"secret," $\underline{W}b$ IV, 551) and $\underline{d}sr$ is interesting. Not only is the structure in question "holy," but it is "secret." This seems to stress the mystery and inaccessibility of the spot.

Another suggested meaning for &t3w (perhaps more so in other passages than this one) is that it is a specific place in the necropolis where the rituals known as the "mysteries" (&&t3w) were recited and performed (Federn 1960, 252). Additional research on this matter needs to be pursued before Federn's thesis can be accepted. However, the suggestion is intriguing.

ft3w is found alongside dsr in several other passages in the Coffin Texts. CT IV, 8lg:

I have come forth from it to the house of Osiris. I have looked at the secret holy place. I am led to her hidden secret place. (She caused me to see the birth of the great god.)

This text is difficult to translate since the two traditions that preserve it have rather significant variants. In 81g, B6c reads "the house of Osiris," whereas D1c reads "house of Isis." In BD 78.27 the name of Isis appears in the later version of the text. The writing of these two deities is so similar that it is easy to see how such a variant could have originated. D1c, throughout this section, uses the third person feminine suffix (s). B6c shows no pronominal suffix. An alternative reading for the safter \underline{dsr} in 81h it that is goes with $\underline{st3w} = s\underline{st3w}$ (causative of $\underline{st3w}$) meaning "mysterious" (\underline{CDME} 248). The role of Isis as mother of Horus, by the deceased Osiris, led to her being associated with the birth and rebirth. It is quite fitting, then, for Isis to be showing the deceased the birth of the great god.

In this passage we see that \$t3w is used in two different ways. In 8lh it modifies $\underline{d}sr$, "the secret (or mysterious) holy place." Faulkner (1973, 231) offers the meaning "secret mysteries," which if correct presents us with yet another meaning for $\underline{d}sr$. "Mysteries" is an acceptable translation for \$t3w (CDME 273), but not for $\underline{d}sr$. The combination of these two words suggests that this place was not only sacred, in the sense of being segregated from the profane world, but it was inaccessible or concealed (Wb IV, 533)

Secondly, $\xi t \Im w$ appears to be a place. In 81i the

deceased says, "I am led to her hidden secret place." This may simply be another way of saying $dsr \ \xi t 3w$ or it might be describing yet a more "hidden" location within the dsr place. In this very secret, hidden, sacred spot the deceased witnesses the birth of the great god. section fits into the genre of spell where the deceased boasts of the various divine symbols he possesses or supernatural events in which he has participated. Under such circumstances, the dead could say "My spirit is equipped (^{c}pr) " (CT V, 384a). All of this is to gain recognition as he passes through various gates on his way to join Re. This particular boast is spoken in the strongest language possible to describe a most sacred act, namely the birth of the great god. We would expect such an event to take place in a "holy" place, or certainly the place would be considered "sacred" by virtue of the divine birth in that chamber. J.G. Griffiths (LÄ IV, 276) when commenting on the s\$t3w (the Osiris Mysteries at Abydos) states that these rites were carried out by the priests "in the inner sanctuaries." Since we know that such rituals were observed within the inner part of a sanctuary, it seems very likely that such a spot could be called dsr \$t3w.

In another passage, which has a definite cultic context, we find $\underline{d}srw$ §t3w once again, CT V, 395h-i:

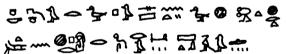
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They sit³ on the throne, they see the secret holy things, (when their sight falls on the exclusion (?) of Bst, they have partaken of the offerings, in which a holocaust is made daily for the two goddesses(?).)

(Faulkner 1977, 103)

The situation seems to be that the gods (Hu, Sia, and Orion are mentioned in V, 394) are seated on their thrones and they behold the \underline{dsr} §\$t3w. In both 394 and 395 mention is made of offerings ($\underline{h}t$), and daily holocausts ($\underline{h}rt$ hrw). The performing of the rites here appears to be described by \underline{dsrw} §\$t3w ("secret holy things"), or else the \underline{dsrw} §\$t3w. is the actual place where the offering rites were performed. This finds support in the Litany of Re (Hornung 1975, 185) where such a place is found in the Netherworld (imy dw3t): "O you who enters into sacred mysterious place (ck \underline{dsrw} §\$t3w). Closely related to this is CT V, 52 (which will be examined in more detail below) where sacrificial bulls are m-hnw dsrw - "within the holy places."

 $\underline{D}srw$ § t3w is also found in CT IV, 43b-d:



(BECOMING A HERON (?) OF THE LOTUS-TANK.) I am a heron (?) of the lotus-tank. What appertains to Atum has been taken for my coming into existence with the intent to (?) seclusion and hiding.

(Faulkner 1973, 217 and for the translation of the longer text (Sqlc) see 218 N 4)

Faulkner's treatment of this passage is not without problems. The writing of hpr is followed by the sign a. This could be taken as a first person suffix pronoun as Faulkner has

done. But it could also be the determinative for divinity, making this the god Khepri. Khepri often is closely related to Atum (Morenz 1973, 274), who was just mentioned. The text could be read as follows: "What belongs to Atum is taken for/to Khepri to the secret holy places." <u>Dsrw \$t3w</u> could also be participles: "... to the secret Holy One."

Federn (1960, 245f) argues that the purpose behind the so-called "transformation spells" was simply for a pleasurable, mystical experience. While there may be some merit in this view, it unfortunately does not fully explain the hpr m spells. The deceased in this spell is not being transformed into a heron merely to fly around because the sensation to fly like a bird appealed to the Egyptians. In IV, 44 we find the deceased man visiting various locations in the Netherworld that he might pass through on his journey. One of the places is "Sacred Lake" (§ dsr), where his face is wiped. He passes on to Lake of Jackals where a sacred place is opened to him (44c). Earlier (43) he has informed the reader that he has a side-lock, normally associated with gods, and that his eyes guide Re. The deceased bears the very marks of divinity. The transformation into a heron seems to be for practical reasons, so that the man could fly about to these various locations and partake in these rites which assist in his becoming a god of high standing so that he could join the retinue of Re. In light of this, secret Holy One" as a quality of the Osirianized dead.

An important passage that deals with this subject is CT VII, 391b-392a:

Hail to you, you of the mat (?); the private matters of the god are in the secret places, (and the hands of Geb support the dawn. Who is he who will lead the great ones and will count the children at his due time?) See, Thoth is within the secret places $(\$t3\omega)$, and he will do priestly service (ω^cb) . . .

(Faulkner 1978, 154)

Lesko's treatment of this section is somewhat different:

The holiness of the God is secret. (The arms of Geb rise early in the morning. Who will lead the great ones and count children at his proper time?) Thoth is inside the secrets that he may make offerings . . .

(Lesko 1972, 102-103)

In the preceding lines we have considered examples from the Coffin Texts where $\underline{d}sr$ and $\underline{s}t3w$ are written in juxtaposition. While some ambiguity remains as to exactly what this combination conveys, in some cases $\underline{s}t3w$ modifies $\underline{d}sr$ (sacred place"), e.g. II, 135d-g; IV, 8lg. Then too, $\underline{s}t3w$ might be an actual place, a sanctuary of some sort. Since the purpose of this study is not the investigation of the word $\underline{s}t3w$, we cannot thoroughly examine $\underline{s}t3w$ and all its implications. However, a thorough word study of $\underline{s}t3w$ would undoubtedly reveal much more about the word and would shed new light on the relationship of $\underline{s}t3w$ to $\underline{d}sr$. This is, unfortunately beyond the scope of this study.

 $\underline{\mathcal{D}}sr$ meaning "sacred place" is also found in CT IV,

I pass by the Valley, I cross the Sacred Place, I pass through the double doors of the judgement-hall(?) . . .

(Faulkner 1973, 279)

The first line of this spell (366a) says " I raise myself" $(w\underline{t}s \ wi)$. This expression is usually associated with the resurrection of the dead. The theme of traveling towards Sw3 is the word used in 399k, the next life follows this. which means "pass." Zandee (1960, 257-58) notes that sw3is found in spells that deal with the traveling of the deceased in the next life. The spells are recited to enable the man to "pass by" the obstructions of the denizens of the underworld that are bent on destroying the heaven-bound traveler. The pilgrim recounts some of the areas through which he has traveled. These include crossing over to the west (366g), as well as passing the Valley, crossing the "Sacred Place," traversing (nmi) the double doors of the judgement-hall(?), so that he could reach the "Company of Khentyamentyw." The exact identification of this "Sacred Place" may be part of, or even the name of the domain of Osiris.

My sacrificial bulls are within the holy places, (the remembrance of me is yours).

(Faulkner 1977, 15)

Here too we see the expression $m-\underline{h}nw$ $\underline{d}srw$. $\underline{D}srw$ is said to

be the place where the "sacrificial bulls" are located, presumably for the funerary meal of the Ka. This aspect of the funeral ritual was very important. Scenes of the sacrificial bulls are included in most tombs from Pharaonic Egypt (cf. Davies 1935, pl. 24; Newberry 1893, pl. XVII; Blackman 1914, pl. X; Griffith 1889, pl. I). The importance of the sacrificial bulls is underscored in the Sinuhe story when the king is appealing to the exiled Sinuhe to return to Egypt. He mentions the sacrifice as one of the parts of the funerary ritual which Sinuhe would miss if he were not to return to Egypt:

The dance of the muw is performed at the door of your tomb; the offering-list is read for you; sacrifice is made before your offering-slab. (R. 195)

The point of CT V, 52 is that this bull sacrifice appears to take place $m-\underline{h}nw$ $\underline{d}srw$. Since portions of the bull were taken into the tomb they had to be w^cb and nfr, which may account for why the ritual took place in a "sacred place."

Another important development that appears for the first time during this period is the introduction of the expression \underline{dsr} st or st \underline{dsrt} in Egyptian texts. We noted that $m-\underline{h}nw$ \underline{dsrw} was likely a chamber of some sort. The textual material suggests that it might have applied to a tomb (II, 135e-g), the domain of Osiris (IV, 336k-m), the abode of Re (VI, 335m-n) and the place where funerary sacrifices were made (V, 52). One meaning of st \underline{dsrt} , we will see, is the place where the cult statue is located within a temple or shrine (Wb V, 612;

ARE II, 61, N. b). The meaning of \underline{dsr} in this instance is suggested to be "inaccessible" (\underline{Wb} V, 611). This makes very good sense for the cult statue could only be approached by a select number of priests and, on certain occasions, the king when serving in his priestly capacity. Breasted (\underline{ARE} II, 61, N. b) equated \underline{st} $\underline{dsr}(t)$ with "the holy of holies," i.e. the most sacred spot in the temple precinct.

Before this development, it is difficult to say what term or expression denoted "the holy place" of a temple. In the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom we frequently meet the expression st (swt) wcb nfrt. wcbespecially interests us, because, as we have observed, $w^{\mathcal{C}}b$ and dsr enjoyed a rather close relationship. In Demotic bw dsr replaces st dsr (Wb V, 611), while in Coptic летоульв = $(p3 nty w^c b)$, literally "that which is pure" becomes the term for sanctuary (Wb I, 45.2 and Daumas 1952, 171-72). It is possible, then, that st $w^{c}b$ was the predecessor to st $\underline{d}sr$. In texts where this expression appears, and it is very frequent, st w^cb most certainly describes the quality of a god's domain. Many of these apply to "Anubis, Lord of Abydos in all his fine and pure places" (Clère and Vandier 1948, \$27t-u). This same sentence is found in the Cracow Stela of Merer (Černý 1961, 7, 1. 1), and many similar examples could be cited.

In CT VII, 455d we find the expression $\underline{d}srt$ st:

伊斯無川宮口品及無無別念山台

Hail to you, you gates hidden of name, sacred of places, (save me from all injuries . . .)

(Zandee 1960, 29)

Faulkner (1978, 165) renders this in essentially the same manner, with \underline{dsrt} swt given as "whose sites are sacred." Here this expression does not refer to the holy place of the temple; rather these gates provide a barrier to this sacred spot. But there is no further information about this place. Zandee (1960, 29) states that evil individuals were not allowed to pass through these gates. The "just," however, may enter and freely approach Re. This well illustrates the point of how the idea of the "holy place" in the temple developed. The door (sbbt) would keep out the undesirable and protect the sacred area from desecration. Only the vindicated dead or gods could enter st \underline{dsrt} . This was true also of the \underline{dsrt} within the confines of a temple (Blackman 1918b, 148-156).

2. Sacred things (general).

The rubric in Spell 84 (II, 49) indicates that this spell is for becoming NEHEBKAU IN THE REALM OF THE DEAD.

According to Zandee (1960, 99), this was desirable so that the deceased would receive an abundance of offerings. The spell continues:

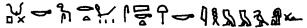
I have used (?) myrrh, I have burnt incense, I have hacked up the earth, I have presented offerings before Isis and Nephthys, that they may place holy things upon the arms of Seshat, who is pregnant with me . . . I have issued from between the legs of Isis as Horus . . .

(Faulkner, 1973, 88-89)

This spell is dealing with the rebirth of the individual who is within the womb of Seshat. He claims to have taken all the necessary measures to ensure his safe delivery (rebirth). These rites are associated with aspects of mortuary ritual. The purpose of all of this is to ingratiate Isis and Nephthys who play a vital role in the bith and rebirth process. Isis and Nephthys, it should be recalled, were involved in delivering the royal children in Papyrus Westcar (X, 7-8). With the sisters of Osiris being favorably disposed, they in turn "place holy things upon the arms of Seshat, who is pregnant with me."

The text does not disclose what these "holy things" were. The plural writing of \underline{dsrw} might refer back to the list of performed rites (i.e. using myrrh, burning incense, etc.). If this is not the explanation, then we can only conclude that these "things" were of such a quality that they could be received by a god or goddess as an offering. To describe an offering to a divinity as \underline{dsr} seems in keeping with what we know about \underline{dsr} (cf. pp.154-155).

Spell 693 (CT VI, 325p) contains a similar occurrence:



("Hail to you four times, N!" say your two great and mighty sisters who clear (dsr.ty) [Osiris(?)] of weakness by means of your sceptre.) "May you open up your holy things and your insignia . .; (may your sisters be glad at you [. . .], may you pass [on] the path in the sky.")

(Faulkner 1977, 258)

The first part of this text was discussed above under the section of dsr meaning "to clear" (p. 78). The theme again is resurrection. If the dsrwt belonged to the Sisters, tny would likely have been written for the suffix pronoun and not k. After "your holy things and your insignia" the word is written, which Faulkner (1977, 259, N. 5) rightly concluded was not translatable. The determinative indicates that we are dealing with divinity. The f suffix pronoun attached to ihmmtyw is problematic for it represents a change in person (2nd to 3rd) without there being any appropriate antecendent. Ihmmtyw looks a bit like the name of a minor deity that appears a few times in the Pyramid Texts. He is (PT \$1102 and 2029). Finding this deity here in CT VI, 325- makes no sense at all. The meaning of ihmmtyw.f continues to elude us.

We are left in the somewhat difficult position of not knowing how important this obscure word is to our understanding of $\underline{dsrwt.k}$ $s\S kt.k$. But since we do know that this section contains a resurrection motif and that the section ends with "passing on in the sky," "holy things" and "insignia" would mark the man as divine and would allow him to hurdle obstacles and gain access through certain gates. This might parallel the idea behind CT III, 48-49 where the pilgrim claims to be wearing the "sandals of Sokar" and carrying "that stick which separated heaven and earth." Possessing these divine symbols of power ensured the man success over his foes and entrance to restricted areas

blocked off by gates. If the traveler is in fact making reference to these divine objects (his credentials), they may well be called \underline{dsrwt} .

The idea of the deceased boasting of possessing certain divine objects appears again in CT VII, 101k:

ひさずあれずしいる

(I have come and I am great, I seek(?) and I am seen.) (have seen the holy things of Anubis, (and I have come so that I may hear the voice of the monster . . .)

(Faulkner 1978, 53)

Again the dead rationalizes that by virtue of having seen "the holy things of Anubis" he is entitled to proceed into the Netherworld. "The holy things of Anubis" may be an allusion to the embalming ritual and the equipment of the sh ntr from which Anubis operated. Without this process being undertaken, the dead man was doomed (Morenz 1973, 200). After the statement about seeing the "holy things" he claims to have washed $(w^{c}b)$ in the lake of the Netherworld (10ln). We have suggested elsewhere (Hoffmeier 1981, 174-176) that the purification of the corpse in the Netherworld corresponded to the lustrations that took place in the purification tent prior to mummification. When we compile the boasts of the deceased in Spell 891, he seems to be saying that he received a proper burial. The rubric at the outset points out that the spell is for REPELLING (hsf) THOSE WHO WOULD CUT OFF///. All the precautions of the correct embalming process and burial rites were needed to ensure the safety in the journey through the Netherworld. The

statement about seeing the "holy things of Anubis" may be a description of these rites. The w^cbt , sh $n\underline{t}r$, or pr nfr all played a part in the mortuary ritual and these were considered to be under Anubis' lordship. "The holy things of Anubis" may include the equipment (dbh) of these funerary structures.

Another occurrence of $\underline{d}sr$ meaning "holy things" is located in CT V, 375d:

(I know the name of this god; He whose mouth is joined together,) Lord of holy things, whose hair is in good order, whose horns are sharp.

(Faulkner 1977, 96)

In PT \$282-83 when the king is met by the "Beautiful West" she refers to him as the one whom "I have borne":

His horn is shining, the eye-painted pillar, the Bull of Heaven.

The horn is here associated with the resurrected king who is the "Bull of Heaven."

While we are not explicitly told what these "holy things" are, it could be that the nb $\underline{d}srt$ is the divine quality of having his hair in order and horns sharp. Admittedly there is not much evidence to support this since nowhere else is one's coiffure or the sharpness of horns described as $\underline{d}sr$. Another suggestion is that this epithet could be translated "Lord of Holiness." In either case, $\underline{d}sr$ is closely linked to divinity as we might expect.

The word $\underline{d}sr$ is used in CT VII, 139i to qualify the Eye of Horus.

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O N, I give you the Eye of Horus, which is potent and sacred and which is on Atum; it will be in your eye(?) before you.

(Faulkner 1978, 72)

In this passage the Eye of Horus is being presented to the deceased as a ritual offering. Earlier in this spell the eye of Horus is being used to open the mouth of the dead as well as a means of purification. Both of these notions occur in the Pyramid Texts (Spells 20-21 and 25-29 respectively). Opening the mouth and purification were both involved in resuscitating the dead and transforming him into a divine state (Blackman 1918a, 16f.; Blackman 1924b, 47f.; Baly 1930, 173f.). In addition, CT VII, 139i would indicate that the Eye of Horus provides sight for the resurrected dead.

The reason behind the power of the eye is because it was restored after the fight with Seth, for it had been destroyed by Seth. The restored eye, like Osiris, became a symbol of victory over death. For this reason our text can speak of the Eye of Horus as mnh ("potent," "effective," Wb II, 84-5) and dsr. The latter term is appropriate here because it belongs to the god Horus, and because it has power to "ward off" the effects of death.

Earlier, passing reference was made to CT VII, 428,

however, it was not fully explored (cf. pp. 69-70):

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(. . . it is you who tell me that sky and earth are cleared (\underline{dsr}) , Down on your face! The White Crown and the Wig-cover have retreated.) I am made to enter, and I make him who glowers tremble behind the sacred matters of the god . . .

(Faulkner 1978, 159)

The rubric (427b) points out that the traveler has reached the fourth gate where he encounters the porter (hsf hr), who is commanded "down on your face!" This appears to be a recognition of the divinity of the deceased in his form as Osiris. Then comes the critical line. Lesko (1972, 112) rendered this:

he enters after hsf hr trembled around the holiness of God . . .

Faulkner interpreted dsrntr to mean:

sacred matters of the god. . . (1978, 159)

For such an understanding one would expect dsrw rather than dsr, nonetheless Faulkner's suggestion is a possibility. God in this case must be the resurrected dead. No other person is recorded as present at this point except the porter who is groveling at the feet of the Osirianized pilgrim. If Faulkner's interpretation is correct, the porter is trembling because of the "holy things" which the traveler possesses. The deceased in order to gain recognition and access through the various doors and to overcome attacks by his foes carries with him certain symbols of divinity (e.g. the Eye of Horus, the Sandals of Sokar,

and the stick which separated heaven and earth). It could be these objects which gain the submission of the gate-keeper.

On the other hand, Lesko, may be right in thinking that this means "the holiness of god." The trembling of hsf hr would be caused by the very presence of divinity. Such a response to being confronted with divinity is like that which we saw in the Sinuhe story and "The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor" (cf. pp. 45-46). Either reading of \underline{dsr} adheres to the range of meanings presented in this study. The orthography of \underline{dsr} in this passage would favor Lesko's conclusion.

Sacred things (specific)

Two interesting occurrences of $\underline{d}sr$ are found in CT IV,

. . . I eat with Him whose face is wiped in the midst of Sacred Lake, I have passed by the front of his northern eternal field which belongs to Re, there is opened to me the sacred place at the Lake of Jackals.

(Faulkner 1973, 217)

In the Netherworld there is a lake belonging to Re called "Sacred Lake." In this case, too, it is a part of Re's domain that is considered <u>dsr</u>. In 44c the text reads that a "sacred place" is opened for the deceased in "Lake of Jackals." Jackal Lake is attested in PT \$6372, 457 and

1164 as one of the spots where the resurrected king is purified (w^cb) by Horus. Gauthier (DG V, 127) points out that in the Pyramid Texts, Jackal Lake and the Lake of the Netherworld are closely associated. "Opening a sacred place" might be an allusion to the purification in Jackal Lake. In the lines following this statement we find the deceased ready to move on in his journey, asking that the path be prepared for him. This fits very well into the requirement of being pure if you were to walk on the $w3wt \ dsrwt$ in the Netherworld.

There are two references to "sacred doors" in CT IV, 222b and 344f.

당소송있[]火口 취급 (CT IV, 222b)

(While I was on earth I came from my city. I have got rid of my wrongdoing, I have dispelled my evil, I removed the falseness which was on me, I bathed in those two very great lagoons which are in Ninsu, in which the oblations of the plebs are cleansed for the great god who is in it. I proceed on the path which I know in the direction of the Island of the Just, I arrive at the Land of the Horizon-dwellers in the sky,) I go out from the sacred portal.

(Faulkner 1973, 260)

This text, like so many others we have examined, has the deceased recounting the various preparations that he had made for his trek to the Netherworld. Notice how emphatic he is in stressing that he is free of any moral wrong (209-210) or ceremonial impurity. In 210b-213 the deceased points out that he had been purified (w^cb) at several prescribed locations. Bleeker (1966, 81-87) has observed

that one way that the Egyptians were rid of their guilt and wrongdoing was by means of water purification (incense and natron could also be used).

The man now pure can "proceed on the path which I know in the direction of the Island of the Just" (218a). The gloss in 220-221 explains the path leading to the Island of the Just as "the Path on which my father Atum went when he proceeded to the Field of Rushes" (Faulkner 1973, 263). Upon reaching the Land of the Horizon-Dwellers in the sky, the man goes out from the sacred portal. "Field of Reeds" was the place where the King was purified in the Pyramid Texts prior to his ascension to join Re (Davis 1977, 163-166). This purification has been recognized among Egyptologists to be connected with Heliopolitan solar theology (Blackman 1918a, 148-65; Blackman 1918b, 57-66; Hassan 1943, 98-99; Donohue 1978, 145). The Egyptian mythic conception was that Re emerged daily out of these marshes or lakes located on the eastern borders of Egypt. Thus the king, following the mythic archetype is purifed and then says (PT \$1423):

I am pure, I am conveyed to the sky thereby, I remain more than human, I appear in glory for the gods. I have appeared with Re at his appearing . . .

(Faulkner 1969, 220)

This illustrates that after the purification of the King (and Re) that Re rises out of the lake to start the new day. It might be that after going through the perils of the

night and encountering evil forces, Re and his retinue in the bark needed to be purified before proceeding from the "sacred portal." The question as to the identification of the "sacred portal" is answered in a gloss in the following section (IV, 223-224):

I arrive at the Land of the Horizon-dwellers in the sky, I go out from the sacred portal. What is the Land of the Horizon dwellers? What is this portal? They are the gods who are about the shrine. As for the sacred portal, it is the double doors from which Atum proceeds to the eastern horizon of the sky.

(Faulkner 1973, 263)

One of the Beni Hasan Coffins (BHlBr) states that this portal is the gate of the Netherworld (225d). In essence this Coffin Text spell parallels the idea found within the Pyramid Texts that the deceased joins Re and accompanies him in his celestial voyage (Morenz 1973, 211) and goes through the Field of Reeds (for purification purposes) after which a new day dawns and Re arises victorious over the forces of darkness. The cyclical pattern of the rising and setting of the sun lent itself to the motif of death and revival. Hence this is linked to resurrection and it explains why the purification of the dead and his joining the retinue of Re plays such a central role in Egyptian mortuary literature.

Not only would this gate be "sacred" because Atum passed through it, but because this gate was the boundary marker between the realm of darkness and light, or between heaven and earth (Zandee 1960, 120-22). Only those who were pure (IV, 220-221) and knew the proper formulae and

had some symbols of divinity could proceed through this gate. The gate also served the purpose of keeping the heavenly realm safe from defilement by demons and impure humans who would enter. In other words $sb3 \, \underline{d}srwt$ served to keep potential desecration from entering $t3 \, pf \, \underline{d}sr$, which we saw in CT spells 38-40 was another expression for the heavenly realm (cf. pp. 85-86).

Sb3 $\underline{d}sr$ in IV, 344f is the same gate as that of IV, 222b, therefore what has just been said will suffice for this occurrence.

An expression similar to sb3 $\underline{d}sr$ is c3.wy $\underline{d}sr.wy$ which is found in CT III, 53e:

(I am the Bull, the Old One of Kenzet, in charge of the five portions in this temple; five portions are above with Re, five portions are below with Osiris.) The sacred doors are opened to me, (the doors of Kenzet are thrown open for me . . .)

(Faulkner 1973, 148)

The \$\frac{c}{3}.wy\$ are the double doors which present another obstacle for the deceased on his journey. The sacred doors are here identified as the doors of Kenzet. The parallelism of the couplet suggests this. Kenzet, well known in the PTs (\$\frac{6}{6}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{6}\frac{2}{6}\frac{1}

doors being opened, the deceased says "I wash myself, I cleanse my mouth." It would seem that with this CT spell we have a very similar phenomenon occurring, namely the purification of the deceased along his journey before passing through yet another gate whose doors are called dsr. Once again we see the juxaposition of something sacred and ritual purification $(w^{c}b)$. Here too these doors are meant to keep the impure, polluting forces outside the protected area.

The expression w3wt dsrwt was discussed in some detail above under \$B. 3 of this chapter. By far this particular use of dsr surpasses all others in the Coffin Texts. Spell 312 alone this expression is attested several times; CT IV, 83a and k, 85b and e-q. It was noted above that w3wt dsrwt described a path or road that had been cleared $(dsr \ w3t)$, and that one could easily justify translating w3wt dsrwt as "cleared" or "sacred" paths since that which is completely cleared or segregated from the profane could be deemed "sacred." Ample discussion of this was given above, hence there is no need to review the same texts here. In Spell 1033 we meet another attributive use of dsr. The text is unfortunately somewhat problematic. CT VII,

19 2 ((var. 9 2 La) & N ... 2 ... 1 ... 1 ... 1 ... 1 ... 1 ... 1 ... 1 ... 1 ... 1 ... 1 ... 1 ... 1 ... 1 これでは 2000 こうしょしんしょれる からい In 263c there are two readings for 3bh.tn sdt or dsrt.

Lesko (1972, 16) renders the one version "Join the flame" and the other "join what is sacred." It is difficult to determine which tradition is the original. In de Buck's collated work on the Coffin Texts he has gathered eight examples where $s\underline{d}t$ is written and six where $\underline{d}sr$ is used. Faulkner (1978, 130 N. 2) comments on the appearance of $\underline{d}sr$, saying that it "appears to me to be a corruption of $s\underline{d}t$, perhaps influenced by $\underline{s}dsr$ in 264a." Faulkner is most likely correct in his assessment.

Let us now consider the balance of this passage.

(The fire which is about Re is bright against you, being bound about him;) the Lord of Storm fears the bark of Re, and you shall join the fire. I have come here with him whose face is wiped, I have seen him who has gone to ${\rm Ma}^{\rm C}$ et, having fallen by the hand of those whose shapes are sacred who are in the midst of the sacred lake.

(Faulkner 1978, 129)

Faulkner renders <u>dsrw</u> irw as "those whose shapes are sacred," while Lesko (1972, 16) prefers "Splendid." It is curious indeed to see that a scholar would translate the same word (<u>dsr</u>) two different ways in the same clause (he renders <u>gstar</u> as "sacred lake"). Irw <u>dsr</u> is quite well known during the Ptolemaic Period (<u>Wb</u> V, 611.23 and see the references in <u>Die Bellegstellen</u> V, 90 under 612. 23). Dsr irw + we is the name of a snake in the late period (<u>Wb</u> V, 612). However, during the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom this epithet is not well attested. In meaning, "sacred of shape or form" is closely akin to <u>dsr hprw</u> which is known in the New Kingdom (<u>Wb</u> V. 612). "Those whose shapes are sacred"

are evidently divinities found in "Sacred Lake." 265b provides the identity of these dieties; "the companions of the reed-dwellers on the Lake of Rushes." The Lake of Rushes/Reeds, like the Field/Marsh (s_b^*t) or Rushes was a place where Re purified himself (PT \$8519 and 1421). This text suggests that there were some permanent divine residents of this sacred lake (which is known as \S i3rw). These divinities are said to be "sacred of shape or form." To describe the nature of a god as \underline{dsr} is exactly what we would expect.

4. Dsr used as an attribute of divinity.

In the last section we saw the epithet $\underline{d}srw\ irrw$ (VII, 265a) "sacred of forms" being attributed to some sort of deity that the deceased met in "sacred lake." $\underline{D}sr$ is used as a quality of a god in CT VII 282d:

A slight problem arises with \underline{dsr} in this text because one of the coffins contained the variant $(\underline{ds.f})$. Faulkner (1978, 132, N. 2) favors the reading $\underline{ds.f}$. The five other witnesses of this spell contain \underline{dsr} . Either reading makes good sense. It would seem, contrary to Faulkner, that we should favor the \underline{dsr} since it occurs five times to only one for $\underline{ds.f}$ in de Buck's edition. It is easy to see in either case that a scribal error of this type could easily take place. The corruption of B9C is evident elsewhere in the same phrase. It is written as follows:

12 x- 889, 9, 2 -x

First the m is written twice (mm), when only one should be written. Secondly the (f) in (f) in (f) is written backwards. These considerations argue that his version of the text is corrupt and seem to support the reading of the other five examples. Even if (f) were the original writing, the later scribes obviously felt that (f) (f) made perfectly good sense and so made no effort to change it again. CT VII, 282.d reads:

As for him who knows this spell for going down into them, (the paths of Osiris) he himself is a god (a holy god), in the suite of Thoth.

(Faulkner 1978, 132 variant reading in 132 N. 2)

Lesko (1972, 20 translates this "he is a holy god." This spell should be understood as one associated with the "passing over" (sw3) spells and traveling on the celestial paths of Osiris (282a-c). The deceased is admitted into the heavenly realm once he has demonstrated his divinity (i.e. being properly purified, mummified, ascended to the sky, and possessing divine symbols). From this point in his journey he is called Osiris N. Thus, like other gods, he could be considered "holy" or "sacred."

The idea of divinity being $\underline{d}sr$ is attested in CT IV, 820-83a:

とほしことを必りには、これではなっている。 でになる これ でんしょう のいまり はっぱん マル・カル・スト のいまり はっぱん マル・スト のいまり マル・スト マル・スト マル・スト マル・スト マル・スト マル・スト マル・スト マー・スト アー・スト マー・スト マー・スト マー・スト マー・スト マー・スト マー・スト マー・スト アー・スト ア

(I am come forth to Djedu that I may see Osiris, I land at the Mansion of the Great Dead One;) I inspire fear of him and create, awe of him among the gods. I belong to the great shrine, (even I) the holy one of $\bullet \bullet \bullet$

(Faulkner 1973, 231)

In his study of this passage, de Buck (1949, 96) offered the same translation; "(I) the holy one of Iri-m3tt." Iri- m3tt is clearly a place name. IV, 83 says "Clear the road of Iri- m3tt." De Buck (96, N. 5) wonders if the description is a "misplaced element of a possible orthography In 85d the 41> is not written. De Buck's suggestion is probably correct. This is further supported by BD 78 = CT Spell 312, where this place name is written as 8-!7 C'-:J(BD 78.34 and 39). The word hm3t means "salt" RAA This word looks strikingly like sbt hm3t III, 93). less the sat, which is Wadi el-Natrun (Wb III, 93). Apparently Iri-hm3tt or hm3tt of the Coffin Textsand BD 78.34 and 39 should not be regarded as an earthly location, but a celestial one as BD 78.39 says m3tt m pt - "hm3tt in the sky."

This epithet of the deceased becomes even more significant when we see that it is used in conjunction with the statement "I belong to the great shrine" which immediately precedes it. The meaning of bm given by Wb III, 280 is "heilige Stätte, Kultestätte eines Gottes." A shrine was considered tobe a very sacred spot, therefore it is quite fitting for the deceased in this situation to say to himself: "I belong to the great shrine, (even I) the holy one of hm3tt •"

The epithet "the holy one of X" or "holy in X" was attested in PT \$506b, dsrt m iwnw. This epithet is also found in CT V, 271a. For some reason Faulkner (1969, 99) does not treat this as an epithet here as he did with the same line in PT \$506b.

I sit with my back to the sacred place in On

(Faulkner 1977, 71)

of the six Coffin Text traditions collated by de Buck, five are preserved as written in PT 8506b (some orthographic variations are present but these are due to differences between Old and Middle Egyptian). One examples (Slc) places wr ("great") after dsrt. The frequency with which the formula dsr m X occurs in Egyptian mortuary literature suggests that we are dealing with a rather common formula that perhaps was an epithet. But determining whether it meant "the holy one of X," "holy in X," or "the holy place in X" is difficult to say. Grammatically these possibilities are acceptable, and certainly the essence of dsr has been captured. For this reason we hesitate to make any firm conclusions on which translation should be favored.

In our previous discussion of CT VII, 101k we suggested that the "holy things of Anubis" might be an allusion to the embalming ritual (cf. p.104). In VI, 311h we read:

いってほんとんいり

It is the holy ones who embalm her(?) . . .

(Faulkner 1977, 248)

The embalming of the dead was performed by the wt or wt inpw (CDME 71, Wb I, 378-80). Anubis, along with his many epithets, was called imy wt (CDME 71) "he who is in the embalming place." The embalming priests of Anubis by performing the embalming ritual were in fact re-enacting the mummification of Osiris that Horus and Anubis originally performed (PT \$8574, 896-899, 1122, etc.). Tomb scenes frequently show Anubis or a priest wearing a mask (Blackman 1918a, 16-17), Isis and Nephthys administering the final touches on a mummy [Figure 16].

The "holy ones" who embalm the deceased in CT VI, 311h may well be Anubis, Horus, Isis, and Nephthys. Alternatively it could be the priests who play the role of the deities who originally embalmed Osiris. Here too we recall what was noted already (cf. pp. 26-29) that the priests who administer the funerary rites had to be pure (w^cb) before entering the necropolis. The purity and sanctity of the embalming gods or priests may be that to which is referring. To call these gods or priests \underline{dsrw} is consistent with the high regard the Egyptians had for the dead and the necropolis.

A similar occurrence of dsrw is found in CT VII, 221n:

. . . the Sixth-day Festival shall be performed for him by the Holy Ones. $\,$

In this spell it is evident that different deities are serving the deceased and performing certain rites. In

the case of the Sixth-day Festival, it is the <u>dsrw</u> who celebrate the occasion. Faulkner (1978, 108) renders this as "the secluded ones(?)." While this is an acceptable meaning for <u>dsr</u> in some contexts, here "holy ones" seems preferable since we are either dealing with gods or priests who are playing the role of particular gods. Calling a priest <u>dsr</u> should not be surprising because in the Ptolemaic period a <u>dsr</u> was a certain type of priest, which <u>Wb</u> V, 616.21 calls a "<u>Schutzgötter des Osiris</u>." The <u>dsr</u>-priest of the late period may have obtained the name through an earlier title such as we have in CT VII, 221n.

5. The final category for consideration under the abstract meaning of \underline{dsr} in the Coffin Texts is the state of being holy or sacred.

A striking example of this comes from CT IV, 79f:

4.14天装空本之时为宝山自家

(THE MESSENGER: You may jubilate concerning him, he has been initiated into the words of these gods, the Lords of All, who are at the side of the Sole Lord) -- so said he who is high on his dais, who dwells in holiness, concerning me.

(Faulkner 1973, 230)

De Buck (1949, 95), who had studied this spell prior to Faulkner, translated this line in precisely the same way and is probably correct when he proposes that Osiris is the god for whom this epithet was intended. De Buck (95, N. 1) adds "'He who dwells in holiness' is a suitable name for Osiris" and he claims that this phrase is "an excellent epithet for Osiris" (91). The notion of god "dwelling in holiness"

and sitting on high is a well-known biblical concept;

For thus says the high and lofty One who inhabits eternity; whose name is Holy: I dwell in the high and holy place . . .

(Isaiah 57:15 -- RSV)

From time to time in this study we have observed that purification $(w^{c}b)$ and $\underline{d}sr$ are closely related. This is well illustrated in CT VII, 38d-e:

two sale here

Live, Osiris! I am holy, being pure . . .

(Faulkner 1978, 24)

In the immediately preceding lines, mention is made of "the field of rushes" being presented to the deceased (38b).

Sht i3rw, as noted earlier, was one of the places where the deceased was purified prior to his ascension to the sky.

CT VII, 38d-e suggests that this purification process was instrumental in transforming the dead human into a "holy state." From the Pyramid Texts we can see that the purification was required for the dead king to be resurrected and to be made divine (PT \$\$1423-25, 2067). If the deceased had been transformed into a divine state and was considered dsr, then it becomes clear why there is such frequent mention of dsr w3t for the deceased or wn n.i w3wt dsrwt.

The deceased, like the statue of a god in a procession, had to proceed on a "holy" path.

A rather obscure use of $\underline{d}sr$ is located in CT VII, 62m-o, which is taken from a list of ritual offerings (Faulkner 1978, 39, N. 1)

水水のコトナの十つ

(0 N, take the water which is in the Eye of Horus, do not let go of it. 0 N, take the Eye of Horus, the water in which Thoth has seen. 0 N, take the [white] Eye of Horus which illumines the tip of the finger of Seth;) 0 N, grasp his hand; 0 N, do not let it be far from you. Be holy(?)⁵ upon his fingers and live, live.

(Faulkner 1978, 38)

Parts of this spell, including $dsr hr db^c \cdot f$, are found in PT Spell 71a-b. The meaning of this line is quite uncertain. At the outset of the spell it does mention taking water from the Eye of Horus. The Eye of Horus in CT VII, 139i was described as mnht dsrt, "potent and sacred." In PT Spells 20 and 21 the Eye of Horus is magically used to "open the mouth" of the deceased, while in Spells 25-29 the eye is associated with purification and cleansing of the dead king. The Eye of Horus was an important symbol of power. The reference to "taking the water . . ." in CT VII, 62h may be an allusion to purification and cleansing. To hold this divine symbol would require having "pure" and "holy" fingers. Perhaps this is what the phrase $dsrt hr db^c \cdot f$ means. The Pyramid Text spell, unfortunately, offers no additional insight on the meaning.

The idea of transferring or imparting holiness to something is found in CT VII, 1961:

. . . I have glimpsed the booths which they sanctified . . .

(Faulkner 1978, 97)

This spell contains several lacunae, which makes understanding

this already difficult spell even more problematic. As we have observed in other spells, the dead frequently boasts of the various divine symbols he possesses or has seen. This seems to be another example of this. Sh has a wide range of meanings including pavilion, booth, shrine, and arbor (Wb III, 646), and in the case of booth and shrine, these are generally associated with gods. In "The Tale of Horus and Seth" we find Re temporarily residing in a sh (Hoffmeier 1977, 18-19).

In CT VII, 1961 sh may be a booth or shrine of a god. Dsr when used verbally frequently means "to clear" with the sense of making a thing free of evil and defiling forces. Faulkner's translation "sanctified" appears to have grasped the essence of the word. But, as we will see in the New Kingdom, the causative sdsr is usually employed when such a meaning was intended. In our text, the sh in question is that "which they sanctified." However, there is no indication who "they" are. Nor does it tell us how the process of sanctification took place. This is most unfortunate for it would be of great value to this study. The point of this sentence seems to be that a booth or shrine of a god is made holy for its divine owner.

F) Miscellaneous occurrences of \underline{dsr} in the Coffin Texts.

The Serpent \underline{dsr} tp was examined above (pp. 42-44).

This serpent's name, which we understand to mean "the holyheaded one"), is attested in PT \$\$401b, 438a-b, 673, and

679e. <u>Dsr-tp</u> is also found in CT VII, 143. Then too there are the various types of beer or ale known as <u>dsrt</u> (CT VII, 143). These are also known from the Pyramid Texts (cf. p. 56). The offering or "offering table" known as which is known in PT §37d is not found in the Coffin Texts, but it frequently is included in the *htp di nsw* formulae of Middle Kingdom tombs (Newberry 1894, pl. xvii). Unfortunately the Coffin Texts do not contribute any additional information on the serpent, the beverage, or the offering table.

With this we conclude our investigation of <u>dsr</u> in the Coffin Texts. This corpus has yielded many examples of the word in a multitude of contexts. What we have seen is a further indication that the semantic range that was presented at the conclusion of the Old Kingdom section holds true for the Coffin Texts. While meanings of the five different classifications of the word could still be found, there seems to be a greater emphasis on the abstract meaning of "holy" and "sacred" than was evident in the Old Kingdom sources. It was also observed that the abode of a god, be it a part of a temple or shrine, was called <u>m-hnw dsrw</u>, <u>dsrw</u> or <u>st dsrt</u>. If there was any hesitation about <u>dsr</u> applying to the concept of "sacred space" in the Old Kingdom sources, there can be none after our examination of the Coffin Texts.

III. Dsr in other Middle Kingdom Sources.

A) <u>Dsr</u> meaning "to clear."

The expression <u>dsr</u> w3t was discussed in much detail earlier in this chapter (pp. 72-78) and in the Old Kingdom section (pp. 19-28), so we merely need to review the texts here. The two key texts which contain it are the Henu Wadi Hammamat inscription (Couyat and Montet 1912, 81-84) and Ikhernofret Stela (<u>Les</u>. 71). Both passages were translated and discussed above (cf. pp. 23-25). These texts were crucial to our understanding of this most important expression.

A path or road that had been cleared of undesirable or desecratory forces could be regarded as "holy" or "sacred." Such a road would be called w3t dsrt. In Old Kingdom offering formulae we frequently meet the wish "that he may walk about on the sacred way(s) of the necropolis as an honored one." For examples of this see pp. 19-21. In the offering formulae of the Middle Kingdom this expression is rarely found. However, in a few instances this wish is included in Middle Kingdom texts (Lange and Schäfer 1902, 7).

B) Dsr as applied to "sacred space."

From our perusal of the Coffin Texts it was concluded that the most common use of $\underline{d}sr$ was in abstract form, and that it most frequently applied to "sacred space," usually within the necropolis, temple, or the heavenly abodes of

various gods. This observation seems to hold true for $\underline{d}sr$ in other Middle Kingdom sources.

In the tomb of Djefi-Hepa, from the reign of Senusret I, a number of writings of <u>dsr</u> which apply to "sacred space" are present (F. Griffith 1889, pl. 3-4). The Djefi-Hepa inscriptions contain the well-studied mortuary contracts (<u>ARE</u> I, §§539f; G. Reisner 1918, 79-98). However, the lines preceding the contracts have been sorely neglected by scholars. This may be due in part of the importance of the contracts. Another reason for the neglect is that this earlier section is most difficult to translate. After studying these texts in some detail for four years, we admit that there are still portions of this text that remain most difficult to translate.

In line 237 we read:

Osiris is in his holy places of Rekreret which are in Assiut.

Gardiner (Grammar §94) cites this line as an example of where an adjective is occasionally separated from its noun, and he translates this just as we have here. Rekreret is the name of the provincial necropolis of the XIIIth nome of Upper Egypt (DG III, 128). The meaning of st is a bit more elusive. It can mean "seat," "throne," "place" (CDME 206, Wb IV, 1-2). The writing m swt.f looks like the expression m st.f nbt which is the place where a god is continually adored (Wb IV, 6). Writing m swt.f...

dsrwt may be a variation on this well-known expression.

In this necropolis setting it might be expected that a shrine is what is meant. The necropolis of ancient Egypt abounded with different shrines, one of which usually showed Osiris standing within (Davies 1935, pl. 24).

Gardiner (1948, 21, N. 4) proposed that st wrt ("great throne") may have been "the raised floor or dais of the innermost sanctuary." Regardless of exactly what meaning for st was intended, it is clearly a place where Osiris could be found in the necropolis and therefore it is rightly called dsrwt. The expression krrt (for rkrrt) dsrt is found in the Litany of Re from the New Kingdom (Hornung 1974, 64).

In the same tomb, lines 238-239 read:

リンフォームニーショニトリーニューショートロコロー 「ロスコニートー」」

Accompanying the god to his place of his cenotaph which is in Rekreret of the necropolis which possesses Anubis, mysterious and hidden for Osiris of Sacred Valley which belongs to the Lord of Life, secret and mysterious.

This section may contain an allusion to the Osiris ritual that is found in the Ikhernofret stela, especially the reference to going to the cenotaph of the god. There is also a striking similarity between the Djefi-Hepa text and that of Wepwawet^ca which mentions ferrying "with the Great God in the ferrying of the god to Peker" (cf. pp. 62-63). The Sacred Valley is apparently associated with Osiris and may be the location of the cenotaph (m^ch^ct). Nb ^cnh almost

appears to be an epithet of Osiris. But usually, nb cnh has the idiomatic meaning of "sarcophagus" (Wb II, 228). There is some question as to what s\$t3 and imn (after Anubis) modify, and bs and \$t3 after nb cnh. Since s\$t3 and imn are not known elsewhere as epithets of Anubis, it is most likely that they apply to t3 dsr. To speak of the segregated land as being "hidden" and "mysterious" follows the pattern already realized above. Bs and \$t3 appear to modify nb cnh rather than the preceding int dsrt since the latter is feminine and bs and \$t3 are not.

Our uncertainty as to what nb cnh is in this context prevents us from drawing any firm conclusions. The point seems to be that this cenotaph is located in a sacred spot, which is inaccessible and hidden.

The Djefi-Hepa inscription continues (1. 244):

Maker Ball - Ill mill make to be able of

This section of the inscription is very difficult to translate. But several cogent points can be made. Hwt ntr m st dsrt suggests that the st dsrt was, in this case, large enough to contain a hwt ntr (temple). While the texts that we shall examine in the following periods suggest the opposite. It seems that here the temple is to be found in the "holy place." Secondly this line indicates that a festival (hb) was celebrated m swt dsrwt. The performing of religious rites and the observing of festivals in a

sacred area is exactly what we would expect. Whether the swt $\underline{d}srwt$ is in any way connected to the st $\underline{d}srt$ earlier

in the line is not clear. The second writing is clearly plural whereas the first is singular. Translation difficulties in this section prevent us from making any additional observations.

The importance of st $\underline{d}srt$ becomes evident when titles are coined for priests who were involved in cultic service in st $\underline{d}srt$. In the 11th Dynasty the title $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ appears (Hayes 1949, pl. IV). Hayes (1949, 46) translated this as "firm of sandal in the holy places." \underline{Wb} II, 62 and Blackman (1915, 21) understood this expression in the same way.

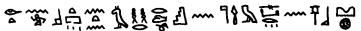
This title occurs in the tomb of Ukh-hotpe at Meir and (Blackman 1915, Pl. XI) a possible context for this is given:

Distinguished of Mien in the Great House, Firm of foot in the Sacred Place.

(Blackman 1915, 21)

stems from Ukh-Hotpe's service in the $pr\ wr$. From this epithet we might conclude that the $st\ \underline{d}srt$ in this case was located in (m) the $pr\ wr$. This is exactly the opposite of the Djefi-Hepa text where the $hwt\ n\underline{t}r$ was located within the $st\ dsrt$.

The word \underline{dsrw} also appears to mean "sacred area" in the Abydos stela of Montuhotpe (Budge 1912, P. V). [Fiqure 17]



Making for me places of eternity at the terrace of the Great God in the sacred area of Abydos.

The writing of $\stackrel{\textstyle \star}{\rightleftharpoons}$ is peculiar. If this is $s\underline{d}sr$ it is the only example attested outside the New Kingdom.

In order to determine exactly how this text should

be read, an inquiry was made to Dr. Morris Bierbrier,
Assistant Keeper of the Egyptian department at the British
Museum. Dr. Bierbrier examined the stela and reported
that the text clearly reads 7.7 The plural strokes

(''') appear to be a corrupt reading for 11.1 = 12.

Thus Budge's transcription is erroneous.

The Montuhotpe stela speaks of making his "places of eternity" (swt nt nhh) at the terrace of the Great God in the sacred land of Abydos. The so-called terrace, according to Simpson (1974, 10-11), is a part of the northern necropolis area of Abydos. During the Middle Kingdom it was desirable to have a cenotaph located close to the cult center of Osiris where the owner could have a permanent "station for the eternal celebration of the Osiris festivals . . ." (Simpson 1974, 13).

Moving away from the necropolis and temple context, we find \underline{dsr} in a somewhat different milieu. From the tomb of Ahanakht at El-Bersheh (Newberry, \underline{El} Bersheh II, Pl. XXI) we read:

Griffith (El-Bersheh II, XLI) rendered this as "Superintendent of the writings in the house of life who has penetrated all sacred things." Gardiner (1938, 160) handled this in a slightly different way: "Overseer of writings in the House of Life, to whom all private matters ($\underline{d}srw$) are revealed." Gardiner's understanding of $\underline{d}srw$ is a possibility since by "private" he means the idea of

"inaccessible," "segregated" (cf. Gardiner 1922, 110 and 1946, 51). Both Gardiner's and Griffith's treatment of this sentence is possible. However, an intriguing alternative is also worth consideration.

The $pr^c n p$, as Gardiner (1938, 168) has shown, was the temple scriptorium where sacred writings were written and stored. The reason that these writings were considered sacred was that the scribes were dealing with divinely revealed matters called $b3 r^c$ "soul" or "emanation of Re" (Gardiner, 168). Gardiner's (168) statement on this is most instructive:

The scribes who wrote in the 'House of Life' were 'followers' or 'servants' or Re, embodying in their compositions that creative power to maintain life which was his. Books were thus inspired, they were 'sacred (lit. god's) books' and we recall also the term 'yod's words'. Was it Egypt that first put the notion of the Word of God into the heart of Man?

If Gardiner is correct in thinking that the temple writings were the "words" of god, then one would expect that the place where these revelations were received, recorded and preserved would be considered "sacred."

In the Admonitions of Ipuwer an interesting text is found which supports this claim:



In his publication of this somewhat controversial papyrus, Gardiner (46) translated this as:

Forsooth, the splendid(?) judgement-hall, its writings are taken away. Laid bare is the secret place that was (such formerly??).

Gardiner at this early date in his brilliant career as a scholar was rather uncertain as to how to translate \underline{dsr} . This is clear from his placing a query after his translation "splendid." But a number of years later, after seeing the word in a number of other texts, he criticized those who rendered \underline{dsr} as "pracht" ("splendid") (1922, 10 and 1946, 51).

Faulkner (1964, 30) felt that hnt meant "archives" and dsr, in this case, meant "'private' rather than 'holy." This sentiment is repeated in his later (1972, 218) translation of the passage:

Indeed, the private council-chamber, its writings are taken away and the mysteries which were (in it) are laid bare.

Lichtheim's version is very close to Faulkner's:

Lo, the private council-chamber, its books are stolen, the secrets in it are laid bare. (1973, 155)

One point that all of these scholars failed to consider is that \underline{dsr} is written with a \square determinative. With this sign one would think that it would be referring to an actual place or chamber rather than qualifying \underline{bnt} . The "Admonitions" is preserved on a papyrus of the 19th Dynasty and at points may reflect some Late Egyptian orthography. Therefore, it might be argued that we need not pay too much attention to such a sign. In this study, including texts from the 18th-20th Dynasties (cf. Chapter 3)

we have observed that when \underline{dsr} is written with \square it usually points to "sacred (place." Even when the \square is omitted, \underline{dsr} standing alone can refer to a place (e.g. CT II, 135e-f; IV, 81g; IV 366k-m; V, 271a; VI, 335n and KRI V, 116.9).

Possibly "Admonitions" 6,5 is saying, "the writings of the council-chamber and the $\underline{d}sr$ (sacred chamber) have been laid bare." Perhaps this is an allusion to two different archives, the one for secular writings and the other for sacred. The idea of a room for storing sacred texts being called dsr is quite attractive when we consider a vignette portraying a $pr^{c}nh$ in Papyrus Salt 825 (Gardiner 1938, 169). [Figure 18] The structure has four entrances oriented towards the four cardinal points of the compass. A second structure is placed within the first. Osiris is shown standing on the nine bows (symbolic of his triumph over his enemies, Hoffmeier 1983, 56-64). In the top righthand corner of the smaller enclosure is an f 4 , no doubt for pr ^{c}nh . In the area between the two walls we find that the four corners of the smaller wall are labelled with the names Thoth, Horus, Isis and Nephthys. Just inside the southern entrance ("two times holy") is written, while inside the northern gate 🎢 🥯 ("two times pure") is found. Once again we encounter $\underline{d}sr$ and $w^{c}b$ complementing each other. We cannot be certain, but it might be that these are names of areas within the "House of Life." This could explain in the "Admonitions." Both Admonitions 6,5 and the El-Bersheh text (1889, Pl. XXI) deal with the location where

sacred writings were kept. The title in Aha-nakht's tomb at El-Bersheh might be saying "to whom all the sacred places (of the $pr^{-C}nh$) were opened (or revealed)."

The answer to the question concerning the bifurcation of the House of Life may only be settled by archaeological evidence. When Pendlebury (1934, 134) was excavating at Amarna, he reported finding the $pr^{c}nb$ which consisted of two buildings. "The 'House of Life' abuts upon the so-called 'Records Office' - t3 st t3 b^{c} $pr^{c}3$ - "The Place of correspondance of Pharaoh" (1934, 160-61). The identification of the two structures was made possible by the respective names of the buildings being stamped on the bricks used in the building.

The two parts of the "House of Life" may be in the memory of later writers. Diodorus (I, 81) claimed that

the priests instruct their sons in two kinds of letters, those called sacred and those of a commoner kind.

While this refers to hieroglyphic and Demotics scripts, it may be an allusion to the bifurcation of the "House of Life" from the earlier period.

The Admonitions passage shows yet another example of the proximity of $\underline{d}sr$ and $s\tilde{s}t3w$. The two clauses might be understood as parallel couplets, with \underline{s} and \underline{s} being virtually synonymous. The closeness of these two words is seen in another title of Aha-nakht:

"Master of Secrets (or mysteries) of the god in the sacred places (Newberry 1896, Pl. VI). This clearly illustrates that s - s + t - 3w, whatever these rituals included, sometimes took place "in the holy place" of the temple.

The use of \underline{dsr} both in Admonitions 6,5 and the El-Bersheh texts may point to the meaning "sacred place" within the House of Life, which was, of course, connected to a temple. The more commonly accepted interpretation of \underline{bnt} \underline{dsr} , that \underline{dsr} is an adjective connected to \underline{bnt} , is quite possible. Which solution is correct may only be settled with the examination of more texts on \underline{pr} \underline{cnp} . Unfortunately neither Gardiner (1938, 157f) nor Habachi (1971, 59-71) were able to clarify this in their studies.

IV. Conclusions

With this we conclude the texts from the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom that have any bearing on our study. The Coffin Texts provided us with a significant amount of data. A number of interesting occurrences of <u>dsr</u> were studied that came from tombs and papyri. The trend we see developing during this period is that there is a marked increase in the abstract use of <u>dsr</u> (meaning "holy" and "sacred"). However, the complete semantic range of <u>dsr</u>, from its root meaning to the abstract meaning, is still observable during this era. Along with the increased abstract use of <u>dsr</u> we clearly noticed that

a sacred spot was designated <u>dsrw</u>, <u>m-hnw dsr</u>, and <u>st dsrt</u>. These designations applied to the location of a cult statue in the necropolis, a shrine, the eternal abode of Re, the chamber where bull sacrifices were made, a name for the heavenly realm and paths in the netherworld that were segregated for the Osirianized dead. Various gates and doors in the Netherworld were also called <u>dsr</u>, and these doors and gates protected certain areas from evil forces in the Netherworld. Other uses of <u>dsr</u> include a quality of divinity and priests, and possibly the sacred chamber in the temple scriptorium that housed the sacred writings of the priests. We can now be certain that <u>dsr</u> corresponds to the English words "holy" and "sacred."

Chapter 3

I. The Second Intermediate Period.

Like the "dark ages" which followed the Old Kingdom, the Second Intermediate period was also a period of relative obscurity in terms of textual evidence; historical, literary or religious. But the Abydos stela of Neferhotpe I (Randall-MacIver 1902, pl. 19), the 13th Dynasty monarch, records an edict which mentions a plot of sacred land (cf. Figure 19 for the text of the stela). The inscription begins with the traditional building inscription formula:

He made (it) as his monument for his father Wepwawet, Lord of the Necropolis ($t3 \ \underline{dsr}$). Regnal year 4, my Majesty, L.P.H. commanded protecting and guarding of $t3 \ \underline{dsr}$ south of Abydos for his father Wepwawet Lord of the Necropolis, just like Horus did for his father Osiris-Onnophris, without letting any people tread this $t3 \ \underline{dsr}$.

In this translation we have deliberately avoided giving a precise meaning to t3 \underline{dsr} until we have discussed what it possibly means. Initially one might be inclined to believe that this means "necropolis" since the plot of ground under discussion is located at Abydos in the domain of Wepwawet who, like Anubis, is patron of the necropolis, and especially the Abydos necropolis (Morenz 1973, 271). But in line 3 of the inscription p3 is written before t3 \underline{dsr} , which is the demonstrative adjective that precedes its object (Gardiner, Grammar §110). The p3 is suggestive of the plot of ground being called "segregated" or "sacred land" rather than the technical meaning "necropolis." In our investigation no

example of p3 t3 dsr was found except this one. It may be that the use of the demonstrative adjective was to clear any ambiguity. It might be recalled that in CT I, 159c, 160h, 162d, 1631 and 164c, in order to avoid confusion when referring to a sacred area and not the necropolis, t3 pf dsr is written (cf. pp. 73-74). The Neferhotpe text, it appears, used p3 to show that the necropolis was not the intended meaning.

In line 8 of the stela, when this plot of ground is again being mentioned, it is called t3 st dsrt, "this sacred place." Within this area people are specifically forbidden to bury, but they may outside of the area (lines 8-9). The reference to making the monument at the outset of the stela indicates that this area was designated for the building of a chapel or shrine for Wepwawet. The command which follows the introduction recounts the first step taken towards that end. Line 3 tells of the erecting of four stelae to mark off the area, and we are told (line 1) that the area was to be hwt and mkt. Griffith (Randall-MacIver 1902, 93) translated this as "to dedicate and protect." Gardiner (Grammar §307) took these two words as a hendiadys, rendering it "to consecrate the holy ground." Hendiadys is a possibility since these two words are virtually synonymous and frequently occur together (Wb II, 160). The meaning of both terms is "to guard," "to protect" (Wb II, 160 and III 244). Gardiner's idea of "consecrate" may be close to the intended meaning, for hwi means "heilig" according to \underline{Wb} III, 244. In the first millennium there was a priestly title $hw-\underline{dsr}$ (\underline{Wb} III, 245. 25). The fact that hwi is determined by signs similar to \underline{dsr} (e.g. $\underline{\wedge}$. $\underline{\qquad}$ \underline{Wb} III, 244) might argue that hwi is close in meaning to \underline{dsr} ; however, it did not enjoy the popularity that \underline{dsr} did. In the New Kingdom the idea of "consecrating" is conveyed by \underline{sdsr} (see below), i.e. "cause to be segregated/holy."

Gardiner's suggestion is attractive and finds additional support in line 2 where no one is allowed to enter the segregated area "except a priest in the execution of his duty" (Randall-MacIver 1902, 93, n. 1). All else would be severely punished, burned (wbdt) in fact. And, interestingly enough, it is the w^cb -priest (lines 5-6) who is exempted from the prohibition.

The stela well illustrates the principle that a "sacred place" is an area segregated from the profane. Those who were not ceremonially pure, like the priest, would defile the spot. Therefore, the area is marked off after being consecrated and it continues to be protected (mkt). The "protecting" may stand separated from $\hbar wi$ since the protection is likened to the protection Horus provided Osiris after he had been slain. He kept his father's enemies from violating the corpse (PT 881683-1684), just as Neferhotpe's command included protecting this sacred area from would-be defilers. In the following sections we will see this pre-

vailing attitude of the Egyptian towards temples, shrines, etc.

Leaving the Second Intermediate period, we enter the New Kingdom (Dynasties 18-20) where the word \underline{dsr} in its various forms occurs so often that one could devote a study of some magnitude to \underline{dsr} in this period alone. For this reason, we cannot be exhaustive in this chapter, but will attempt to discuss the occurrences that would be most beneficial to this study.

During this period a new source of texts has survived, temple inscriptions. This is especially welcomed since up to the present, our study has been dominated by texts of a funerary provenance. However, mortuary literature still contains many examples of <u>dsr</u>, particularly the many Book of the Dead papyri. Many of these spells are survivors from the Coffin Texts and even the Pyramid Texts. Since these have already been examined in some detail in preceding chapters, we shall only make passing reference to these so that we can concentrate our efforts on the building inscriptions and new uses of the word.

II. Verbal usages of dsr.

These are limited indeed. This is due to the emergence of $s\underline{d}sr$ which actually replaces $\underline{d}sr$ in contexts where, during the previous dynasties, $\underline{d}sr$ would have been written. This is most evident in the temple inscriptions. The Book of the Dead, which attempts to adhere to more archaic Coffin Texts,

retains dsr.

The expression $\underline{d}sr$ w3t or w3t $\underline{d}srt$ is written many times in the Book of the Dead, so we will select only several occurrences here.

BD 78 contains two examples of this expression (BD 78 is paralleled by CT spell 312).

とはいまた。 (BD 78.2)

(O Eldest, come to Busiris.) Clear the roads for me, that you may encircle my thrones for me (when you see me, may you perfect me.)

This spell continues (BD 78.44-45: Budge's text)

The Powerful Ones clear the roads for me of the guardians of the way of the horizon, those who belong to the horizon of Hematet in the sky, that I might set up the gates for Osiris, having cleared the roads on his behalf.

The meaning of this spell has been discussed in sufficient detail above, especially this latter section (p. 117). The first passage points to the sanctity of the throne room of the deceased who has become Osiris. The way leading to the spot around around the thrones also needed to be \underline{dsr} (cf. pp. 177-183 for a lengthy discussion of this). The idea of the paths being "cleared" is also also found in BD78.36-38.

In BD 149.66 we are told that the path is actually cleared of a particularly menacing serpent:

Vady Emru & Sall X ub

The road is cleared for me of the $n^{C}w$ -serpent, the bull of Nut, Nehebkau.

In a different grammatical construction, we find Ramses III recalling the part he played in leading the procession of the bark of Amun:

It was I who cleared the way for the Lord of the gods, Amun-Re in his festival of millions of years . . .

This statement precisely matches what Ikhernofret was doing on behalf of the Osiris bark when it was proceeding to the cenotaph. Scenes abound at Medinet Habu and Karnak which show the king leading the procession of various barks or making offerings to a bark; usually holding an "arm censor" (H.H. Nelson 1936, Pl. 56 A-B) [Figure 20].

Earlier in the same address to Amun-Re, Ramses III states $s\underline{d}sr.i$ hnw pth skr - "I cleared (or hallowed) the Ptah-Sokar Bark." In this address, these statements appear to be variations on the same idea, namely clearing or sanctifying the way or the bark itself.

The verbal use of \underline{dsr} is well attested outside of the Book of the Dead in the New Kingdom. From the Karnak building inscriptions of Thutmose III come two instances.

K. Sethe (1914, 77) renders this as:

Er schuf mich als Falken von Gold, er gab mir seine Macht und seine Stärke, ich war prächtig mit diesen seinen Kronen, in diesem (meinem) Namen ["der Goldhorus mächtig an Stärke, Prächtig an Kronen"].

This passage is dealing with the king's being formed as a Golden Horus who is holy by virtue of his having the crowns of kingship, $\underline{d}sr.kwi m \underline{h}^{c}w.f ipn$ - "I am holy through (or by means) of these crowns of his." This of course is a word play on the Gold Horus name shm phty, dsr h^cw . The Gold Horus name of Thutmose III has been variously translated by scholars; e.g. Breasted (ARE II, §146) "splendid in diadems"; Lichtheim (1976, 30) "majestic in appearances"; Naville (D. el B.I, 13), "high or uplifted of diadems"; and Gardiner (Grammar p. 72) "holy-of-diadems." Since this inscription recounts the fixing of the king's titulary and we have the verbal use of $\underline{d}sr$ in the same sentence, it appears that the meaning of the name should be decided here. The meanings "splendid," "majestic," and "uplifted" have been scrutinized above and found lacking. The idea of the sacral kingship being transferred at coronation seems most compatible with the idea of dsr meaning "sacred" or "holy." In his discussion of the coronation of the pharaohs, Henri Frankfort (1948a, 107) points out that the crowns were "charged with power" and were actually closely associated with the goddesses Wadjet and Nekhbet. The hymns to the royal crowns reflect this attitude. This further supports the interpretation of dsr meaning "holy." Gardiner's understanding, we submit, best conveys this concept.

Also from Thutmose III's Karnak inscriptions comes a reference where he tells of his building activities:

1號12 正确的 21明二月12日 12日 5月11日日 12日 5月11日日 11日本

(Urk. IV, 607.3-7)

He made (it) as his monument for [his] fathers [the kings of Lower Egypt] making for them a great temple of millions of years anew from fine limestone of Ainu, it being holy like the horizon of heaven, it being embellished as a work of eternity.

The king is here recounting the building of a temple for his predecessors made of fine quality limestone of Ainu, thought to be associated with the Tura (r-3w) quarries $(\underline{AEO} \text{ II}, 126*-130*)$. The temple is described as being \underline{dsr} and \underline{smnh} , both old perfectives in form. These two words occur in juxtaposition frequently in building inscriptions. However \underline{sdsr} is usually used. The fact that \underline{smnh} occurs in the causative form suggests that perhaps \underline{sdsr} should have been written. As we have seen elsewhere, Egyptologists have tended to render $(\underline{s})\underline{dsr}$ in such texts as "prächtig machte" (Sethe 1914, 81) or "to beautify" (\underline{ARE} II, $\underline{897}$).

It might be that some have allowed the meaning of smnh to influence the meaning of $\underline{d}sr$, just as nfr(t) has influenced the meaning of $\underline{d}sr$ for others. Smnh does carry with it aesthetic meanings such as "embellish" and "ennoble," and

even "restore" (CDME 228). However, it must be recalled that mnh means "potent" (CDME 109). So just as with nfr, (s)mnh has a more dynamic meaning than just "to embellish." Since sdsr and smnh are used in parallelism, the meaning should be quite close. The idea of making a temple potent and effective for the performing of the rites is most essential. The sanctity of the temple is likewise a prerequisite for the proper operation of the cult (Eliade 1957, 368-71). Since it is in keeping with what we know about ancient Egyptian temples, i.e. "to consecrate" or "sanctify" them, the idea of Karnak temple "being holy" is expected. reason for likening the sacred state of the temple to the horizon of heaven is that the horizon is the domain of Re, which of course is made holy by his divine presence. And other cosmic deities were likewise thought to reside in the sky, such as Shu, Tefenut, Nut, Amun and Horus.

III. Sdsr in New Kingdom Texts.

The causative form of <u>dsr</u>, <u>sdsr</u> appears with much greater frequency than verbal uses of <u>dsr</u> in the texts of this period. Erman and Grapow (<u>Wb</u> IV, 394) catalogue the same range of meanings for <u>sdsr</u> as <u>dsr</u> except that in this form it means to make "splendid," "glorious" or "magnificent." Faulkner's (<u>CDME</u> 260) range of meanings better adheres to the semantic range we have proposed; "consecrate," "hallow," "sanctify" and "clear."

On an obelisk of Thutmose I at Karnak we have the

following inscription:

IL TO TO OP TIE CAR

(Urk. IV, 93.11)

From Hatshepsut's time comes another text which mentions the I # d-tree.

でのなり買いまる。

(Urk. IV, 276.10)

Deren grossen Königsnamen ihr Vater Amon herrlich gemacht hat auf dem herrlichen isd-Baume . . . (Sethe 1914, 127)

In the obelisk text, Sethe (1914, 47) translated <u>sdsr</u> as <u>verherrlicht</u>. This line is an allusion to coronation and the fixing of the new king's titulary (<u>LÄ</u> III, 182-83; Myśliwiec 1980, 349-56). The meaning of <u>sdsr</u> in both of these texts appears to have the same nuance. The royal names were specifically designated for that particular king. Thus <u>sdsr</u> likely means that the names were "set apart" or "consecrated" by Amun-Re for that particular king. Likewise, the Heb Sed was divinely appointed and it was made known by

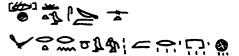
being written on the i & d-leaves. In addition to this, the royal name was considered sacred. Seti I speaks of his name as: ${}^{c}3$ rn $\underline{d}sr$ nhbt (KRI I, 224.4; II, 309.16) - "of great name, of sacred titulary."

In the "Hymn to Osiris" the expression sdsr rn is found:

The son of Isis has protected his father, his name having been hallowed and made splendid.

Again the meaning of this expression remains a bit obscure. Here Horus carried out this action for the deceased Osiris. In this context it is almost suggestive of something having to do with his burial and establishing the funerary cult.

From the statue of prince Nakht-Min we have the following inscription which is closely related in meaning to the previous texts:



(Urk. IV, 1909, 6-7)

Helck (1961, 312) renders this line as "man kennt ihr Wesen, eine mit Namen, die in den Tempeln heilig sind." Helck's handling of this text appears to be correct. The meaning of this text is not clear. "The names being holy in the chapels" may mean something similar to the texts just cited where the queen's name is $s\underline{d}sr$ on the $i\underline{s}d$ -tree or Horus "hallowing" his father's name. Another interpretation might be that, since the name in Egyptian is thought to be magical

and potent (Erman 1907, 28; Lexa 1925, 46, 60, 113) the names being placed in the temples actually had some sanctifying effect. This concept may be included in the two Ramesside Texts (KRI, 586.2-3 and 599.9) discussed below.

The Abydos stela of Thutmose I yields three examples of $s\underline{d}sr$ and one of $\underline{d}sr$.

のおりに、ほどんを持つといる。

(Urk. IV, 95.10-11)

While Breasted (ARE II, §91) translates this as "thou beautifiest . . .," Sethe (1914, 47) continues to use "verherrlicht." A preferable reading would be, "May you make a monument for Osiris in order that you might hallow Khenti-amentiu, the Great God of the first occasion." In other words, the making of the monument would advance veneration and esteem of Osiris.

The king then commands $(w\underline{d})$ the fashioning (mst) of statues of the Abydene Ennead and the nine are named. They are then described as:

(Urk. IV, 99.12-13)

Their images being mysterious and hallowed, the standards thereof were of electrum.

Breasted (ARE II, 95) and Sethe (1914, 50) continue to adopt an aesthetic meaning for $s\underline{d}sr$: "splendid" and "prächtig gemacht." Once again $s\overline{s}t3$ and $(s)\underline{d}sr$ are found in juxtaposition as observed many times in texts of the Middle

Kingdom. Morenz (1973, 150-153) has pointed out that the Egyptians believed that the b3 of a divinity inhabited a statue, hence:

it is said of the divine image that it is "less accessible" (\underline{dsr}) than that which is in heaven, more secret than the affairs of the netherworld, more (hidden) than the inhabitants of the primeval ocean. (Morenz 1973, 88)

Morenz is here quoting from the lines which immediately follow Urk. IV, 99.12-13, viz. 99.14-16 which reads:

よっているできょう。

Hence Urk. IV, 99.14-16 appear to be describing the standards of the gods, as Morenz has observed (see above). These lines may be understood as follows:

. . . being ennobled more than those that preceded them, they being holier than that which exists in heaven, they being concealed more than the fashion of the Netherworld.

Smnh and dsr again appear side by side, and in line 16 h3p is written. This word means "hidden, concealed, veiled" (Wb III, 30) and hence can have more abstract meanings like "secret and mysterious" (CDME 163). In fact, Faulkner (CDME 243) renders 1.16 as "they are more mysterious than the fashion of the Netherworld." Reference again is made to the sanctity of an object being like "that which is in heaven."

The stela continues with yet another occurrence of $s\underline{d}sr$:

(Urk. IV, 101.17-102.3)

I have made (it) as a monument for the gods, having consecrated their shrines for (the) hereafter, having embellished their chapels, after having restored that which was ruined. The meaning of this section seems to be that it was not simply enough to restore what had been ruined and embellish it, but in order to function properly, the shrines in question had to be consecrated or hallowed for their divine occupants. In the following lines the king informs the priests (w^cbw) of their responsibilities in the temple. This passage may reveal the entire process of re-establishing the proper function of a temple that had been allowed to decay; it is rebuilt, refurbished, outfitted with statues and shrines, consecrated, and priests appointed to carry out their duties. Gardiner (1946, 51) felt that in this passage sdsr should be translated "consecrated."

From the reign of Hatshepsut and in a "building" context sdsr is again found:

Words spoken by Amun-Re Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands Foremost of Holy of Holies 2 ... may you build a house, may you embellish a sanctuary, and may you consecrate my godly place.

If Naville's (<u>D. el B.</u> I, pl. 19) publication of this text is correct, then Sethe has erroneously transcribed the end of line 12. Naville's copy shows no break between d and (see Figure 21) as Sethe's does which is transcribed here. According to Naville, there may be an obliteration after . If so, we would expect . "godly" or "divine" to be written. While Naville's (D. el B. I, 13)

translation is burdened with grammatical errors, his translation of st.i $n\underline{t}r(y)$ at least is the right idea: "a sacred abode to be my divine residence."

In any event, the consecrating of the place and the juxtaposition of the word "god" (or some form of that word) is significant. For the idea of consecrating a sanctuary or shrine for a god or being like the holiness of a deity is what might be anticipated.

Perhaps the most important text for our consideration is recorded on the Speos Artimedos inscription.

なる名(記1) m ろう

(Urk. IV, 386.10-11)

I consecrated it after it had been built anew.

The context of the statement is Hatshepsut's claim that she was restoring temples that had fallen into disrepair during the Hyksos interlude. Later on she states:

I have raised up what was dismembered, (even) from the first time when the Asiatics were in Avaris of the North Land, (with) roving hordes in the midst of them overthrowing what had been made; they ruled without Re^{C} ... (Gardiner 1946, 47-48)

The blame for the unfortunate state of these temples is squarely placed on the hated Hyksos whose very presence desecrated Egypt and her temples. The temple that Hatshepsut was consecrating was the temple at Cusae. Her specific mention of this temple is understandable for Cusae represents the southernmost point of control by the Hyksos according to the Kamose stela (Habachi 1972, lines 28-29).

Approximately 800 years after Hatshepsut's time,

Montuemhet, the mayor of Thebes, reports of his "purifying" $(sw^{a}b)$ all the temples of Upper Egypt after the Assyrian invasion and sack of Thebes (Leclant 1961, 197, 1.3). In the second part of Montuemhet's statement he says that they were purified:

14年2月至3月

Breasted (ARE IV, §905) restored this most critical part of the text as "according as one should purify (violated) temples." If he is right, then it strongly suggests that in addition to the need for restoration of a desecrated temple was its ceremonial purification, $sw^{a}b$ in this case. In the Hatshepsut text, $s\underline{d}sr$ is used. As we suggested above, the meaning of $\underline{d}sr$ included not only ablutions $(w^{a}b)$, but purification with incense, magical incantations, etc.

According to the Deuteronomic legislation of Israelite scriptures, foreigners were barred from entry into the temple until three generations after their assimilation into Israelite culture (Deut. 23:3-8), while for the Ammonites or Moabites, they had to wait ten generations. While there were lapses in observing this (e.g. Neh. 13:28-30), St. Paul (Acts 21:27-36) was nearly killed in a riot when it was rumored that he had brought a Greek into the temple area. Perhaps these zealous Jews recalled the desecration of the temple under Antiochus Epiphanes in 167 B.C. Then, under the leadership of Judas, the armies of Antiochus were driven away from Jerusalem, after which we are told:

Then Judas and his brothers said, "Now that our enemies have been defeated, let us go up to purify the sanctuary and dedicate it . . ." Then Judas ordered his men to engage the garrison in the Citadel until he had purified the sanctuary. Next, he selected priests who were blameless in observance of the Law to purify the sanctuary and remove the stones of the abomination to an unclean place. (I. Mac. 4: 36-37, 41-43).

This description of the Jewish cleansing of the temple and consecrating it well describes what Hatshepsut and Montuemhet were undertaking after the departure of the Hyksos and the Assyrians. In his study of the Speos Artimedos inscription, Gardiner (1946, 51, n. 1) argues most convincingly for a meaning "sanctify, consecrate, hallow" for $s\underline{d}sr$. He too was aware of the need for the temple to be consecrated after the Hyksos presence in the land. Foreigners, as Eliade (1957, 29-30) has shown, cause chaos for cosmic and religious order.

In a slightly different context, from Hatshepsut's time, reference is made to the consecrating of offerings:

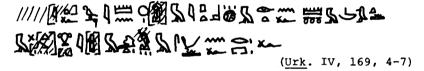
Grammatically this statement is very difficult to understand. The essence of what is being said is nevertheless discernible. The Queen expresses her wish to have offerings consecrated for the one who bore her as had been foretold (i.e. her divine birth). Several lines later this wish is turned into a command:

(Urk. IV, 351.14)

Look now, My majesty has commanded that the offerings be consecrated for the one who bore me.

According to Hatshepsut's apologia, she was the daughter of Amun, formed on the wheel of Khnum (D. el B. II, 48; ARE II, $\S\S200-203$). The offering, then, would be designated for Amun, and naturally we would think that such an offering would be consecrated. It was noted above that the funerary offerings are always labelled nfr and w^cb .

For the period of Thutmose III the word $s\underline{d}sr$ is well documented.



. . . [for] his [father] Amun-Re in Karnak Temple, by making monuments anew for him, surpassing the kings of former times, sanctifying his chapel for him.

Just as we saw above, the word $s\underline{d}sr$ is used to describe temples that have been built or restored for their patron deity.

Intef the Herald of Thutmose III recalls the duties he performed for his sovereign on foreign campaigns:

(Urk. IV, 975.5-9)

(I followed the King of the Two Lands, I struck into his tracks in the countries/////the earth, I arrived at its end, being at the heels of his majesty, L.P.H., my valor was like the lords of strength, and I captured like his brave ones. Every palace in a country/////before the troops, at the head of the army. When my lord arrived in

safety where I was,) I had prepared it (the palace), I had equipped it with everything that is desired in a foreign country, made better than the palaces of Egypt, purified, cleansed, set apart, their mansions adorned, (each) chamber for its proper purpose, (I made the king's heart satisfied with that which I did,/////. I numbered the tribute of the rulers dwelling in every country, consisting of silver, gold, oil, incense, wine.) (ARE II, §771)

We can find little fault with Breasted's treatment of this paragraph, except for his handling of sdsr, which he renders "adorned." Intef's statement suggests that when the king's camp was set up while on foreign soil, it had to be purified (w^cb) and cleansed (twr). Twr is a well known synonym of $w^{C}b$ (Wb V, 253) and the two are frequently found in a parallel couplet (e.g. Les. 71.11). It would appear that s\$t3 and sdsr in this text likewise are parallel in meaning, and that they are related to the purification of the royal encampment. In addition, consecrating it for the "Son of Re" while in a foreign land, the idea behind these two words is the "inaccessibility" (CDME 248) of the camp, its being "set apart" (from the sight of the residents of the land?). Elsewhere, the writer (Hoffmeier 1977, 16-17, 19-20) has discussed Thutmose's encampment, and how the tent was indeed a luxuriously decorated structure that was surrounded by two enclosure walls. This illustrates that the royal tent was "set apart" within the encampment as well. Intef's statement may in some way be alluding to the layout of the tent-encampment. Initially one might be surprised to find sdsr in this passage. However, once we consider the Egyptian ethnocentric world-view it is no wonder that the royal

encampment needed to be amply purified and consecrated for its owner. Horus incarnate.

An objection to this interpretation might be raised on the grounds that nowhere in this passage are the terms used that would be associated with tents (im) or camp (ihy) (cf. Hoffmeier 1977, 13-16). But since we know that Thutmose III did use a tent-encampment while campaigning (Hoffmeier 1977, 16ff.), what else could the terms ^{c}h and hwt be, unless the monarch actually had a palace built in Canaan? There is no evidence for this suggestion.

In BD 148.16 (Papyrus of Nedjmet, BM 10,490; Allen 1960, pl. 45, Col. 139, line 17) we read of the performing of a rite in a hwt n hbs - "a mansion of cloth." This indicates that the word hwt simply means "house," "mansion," and "palace" (Wb. III, 1-3), with no specific building material being designated. Such a structure could be made of stone, brick, or even cloth as BD 148.16 suggests.

Then too, it must be recalled that Intef is boasting about the excellent job he did for his lord, therefore to liken this "home away from home" to the king's palace (^ch) back in Egypt enhances his argument. Hence there is no serious objection to considering <u>Urk</u>. IV, 975.5-9 as a reference to setting up camp on foreign soil and taking the appropriate measures to consecrate the spot, to make it as pure as a king's residence could be while outside of Egypt. (The sanctity of the palace will be discussed below).

The stela of Nebwawi contains an example of sdsr:

(Urk. IV, 209.11)

I was appointed to be chief at H^ci -mnw⁵ in order to hallow the house of his father the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebpehtire.

Nebwawi informs us that during the reign of Thutmose III he was placed in charge of the mortuary complex of Ahmose, the founder of the 18th Dynasty who had reigned nearly a century earlier. Here we think that $s\underline{d}sr$ might allude to re-establishing the cult of the dead king which may have been neglected. Nebwawi's task, we might surmise, was to see to it that the priests were appointed and the sanctuary consecrated so that the daily rituals could be resumed or continued. Sethe's (1914, 98) "prächtig zu machen" is a proper handling of the grammatical structure $(r + \inf.)$, but his choice of "prächtig" is inadequate.

Again $s\underline{d}sr$ is found in what appears to be a mortuary context:

My Majesty desired that a monument be built for my father Amun-Re in Karnak. A sanctuary was erected, a tomb consecrated. Western Thebes was ennobled for him.

Thutmose III here expresses his desire to build a monument for Amun-Re "in (m) Karnak." The m appears to be a locative preposition. But this makes the statement ambiguous. Was the construction taking place "in Karnak," or does it mean that the monument was for "Amun-Re in Karnak"?

The answer to this question is found in the second line. We are here informed that the sanctuary was erected at hftt hr nb.s, the name for Western Thebes (\underline{Wb} III, 276). So the building does not actually take place \underline{in} Karnak (m ipt swt). The iwnn may well be the mortuary temple of Thutmose, while the 3ht may be the king's tomb. The consecration of the tomb follows the pattern recognized already, that the tomb, located in t3 \underline{dsr} , was considered holy (segregated) and pure (w^cb). Even though these monuments were built in Western Thebes, Amun-Re of Karnak was thereby honored.

In two other building dedication inscriptions of Thutmose III from Karnak (<u>Urk</u>. IV, 862.16) and Medinet Habu (<u>Urk</u>. IV, 883.13) the king describes the finished product as the place being more hallowed than that of the gods." The st appears to be the "holy of holies" where the cult statue stood. In other words, the newly built sanctuary was holy enough to satisfy any god.

 $S\underline{d}sr$ is also used in place of $\underline{d}sr$ in the idiom $\underline{d}sr$ w3t in the tomb of Rekhmire, Vizier of Thutmose III:

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I reached the door of the palace, the Friends (of the king) bent their backs. I found the Elder(s) of the Portal clearing

Understanding hr sdsr w3t as "clearing the path" is generally accepted by the scholars who have studied this text (Davies 1943, I 80; AEO I 60*; CDME 260). In this text we find

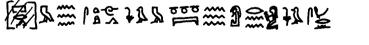
the [secret] path [in my sight].

that Rekhmire has already reached the palace, where he is met by the "Elder(s) of the Portal." There is some question as to whether this is one person or more. While smsw is singular, after h3yt, Sethe (Urk. IV, 1073.5) has restored , which suggests that plurality was intended. Gardiner (AEO I, 60*) understands this to be singular, however Davies (1943 I, 80) takes it to be plural. In any event, Rekhmire has the "way" cleared for him. The title smsw h3yt is well known, but its precise function is still unclear (Gardiner AEO I, 60*). This official is found associated with both temple and palace, and Gardiner (AEO I, 60*) points to the Rekhmire passage as being the only text that in any way elucidates the function of the "Elder of the Portal." But in what way the path needs clearing, just at or inside of the palace, is curious indeed. compound the problem further, there is a critical lacuna just after w3t, which Sethe restored \$t3t m hr.i (see text above). Gardiner (1925 62) points out Sethe's reading was based on Newberry's in The Life of Rekhmara. Gardiner (1925, 62) visited the tomb and made another copy of the text, and made no attempt to restore the lacuna (1925, 64). If x_{t3t} is the word after w3t we are uncertain as to its meaning. What a "secret path" is doing at the entrance of the palace is puzzling, unless it was a "secret path" only used by very high officials and dignitaries. But no evidence can be produced to support this. Since a restoration is required,

it seems prudent not to devote too much time to speculation.

This, unfortunately, clouds any certainty we might have in interpreting the nature of the "clearing." One suggestion that comes to mind is an extension of Blackman's (1918c, 148-56) study of the pr dw3t. He showed that when the king was serving in his capacity as priest he had to undergo ablutions prior to entering into the presence of the divinity. If this was true for the Son of Re, how much more for a mortal when approaching the Pharaoh. If indeed the officials had to be "purified" before an audience with the king, it might follow that the way was "cleared" so as to maintain that purity. This of course was what was taking place in the ceremony when the mummy was being taken from the embalming place to the tomb, and similarly, once the deceased had reached the netherworld, as we observed above, it was imperative that his paths be kept clear of desecratory forces. In Rekhmire's case, this occasion marked his appointment as Vizier (Gardiner 1925, 64). Therefore a special ceremony was taking place when the way was being cleared for him prior to his audience with Pharaoh.

From Tutankhamun's reign (Edwards 1939, 31) a prayer is preserved on a Papyrus in the Salt collection which contains a rather odd use of sdsr:



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(Edwards 1939, 32)

Scharff (1922, 58-59) has translated this line as:

Aus dem Wasser hat man(?) ihn herausgezogen, in Himmelsozean hat man(?) ihn ernährt. Der seine wiedergeburten herrlich macht starker König, erstrahlend (im) Horizonte!

This section of the prayer is an extract from The Book of the Dead 15, but only preserved in BM Pap. 10,741, a 19th Dynasty edition (Budge 1895, 5-8). It is not included in Naville's volume of collated Book of the Dead Papyri. The section that is found in BD 15 begins in the Salt Papyrus line 4, starting with mtwt sw, and concludes in 1. 5 with mswt.f.

Interpreting the line transcribed here is difficult. Allen (1974) in his translation of the Book of the Dead did not include this papyrus, nor did Barguet (1967) in his translation. Therefore we must examine this line in some detail.

Re in his various forms is being lauded in this prayer. The mention of being extracted from the waters is an allusion to Re's initial creation or birth in Nun, which of course was daily re-enacted at sunrise (Morenz 1973, 171-72; Hoffmeier 1981). This is further realized by the closing statement of this line which mentions the king rising in the horizon. But understanding what sdsr mswt.f means is problematic. Budge (1895, 6) is most certainly wrong in saying "increasing his limbs."

If mswt is the word for children, it should be a collective term, hence the t (Wb II, 140). The determinative

is suggestive of divinity. In BD 15 there is no determinative. The use of the third person masculine suffix pronoun points back to nswt pt t3, hk3 dw3t (line 4), "king of heaven and earth, ruler of the Netherworld." This may be an epithet of Re in his capacity as master of the entire cosmos. If so, then f points to the mswt Re, namely the Son(s) of Re, the incarnate Horus. After mswt.f, nswt nht h^ci 3ht is written; his child(ren) namely the "Strong king who appears (in) the horizon." Sdsr then, may mean the same thing that we saw above (p.147) namely the idea of "set apart by divine appointment." This line might be rendered:

(Re) . . . [who came out] of the water, who extracted him from Nun, who nourished him, who dedicated his child(ren), the strong king who rose (in) the horizon . . .

Entering into the 19th and 20th Dynasties we continue to find many examples of sdsr. The Hermopolis Decree of Seti I yields a most interesting text (KRI I, 126.1-2):

////in this land in order to pacify the gods, in order to make content the heart(s) of the Ennead, in order to make high the chapels, in order to protect their mansions on earth, in order to hallow their sanctuaries///

This text reveals that the gods would be pleased if their earthly abode was protected and segregated or consecrated. As was observed on the Neferhotpe stela, where a decree was made to protect a plot of sacred land, the protection (hwi) of the site was imperative. Brunner (1939, 161-64) studied

this passage and rendered $s\underline{d}sr$ "<u>zu verschönen</u>." The idea of "beautifying" or "embellishing" a temple is not conveyed by the word $\underline{d}sr/s\underline{d}sr$. The mention of the protecting of the temples bears this out.

Again in the context of a temple we find $s\underline{d}sr$ used during the lengthy reign of Ramses II. On a statue from Karnak the following text is written:

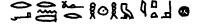
(KRI II, 586.2-3)

Ramses . . . who consecrated the House of Amun, who filled it with monuments, who made [his] name exist for eternity in Karnak.

This line is written with the same duality that we saw above. Temples in western Thebes as well as Karnak (eastern Thebes) are beneficiaries of Ramses' building activities. Pr-Imn has been identified by Kees (1953, 19) as being located in western Thebes. The "consecrating" of the House of Amun appears to be connected with him "who filled it with monuments." This might imply that by virtue of the king's building new, and presumably holy monuments, the area known as pr-Imn was thereby "consecrated."

A similar text is found on the obelisk erected by Ramses II at Luxor temple:

Ramses II · · · 爱怪唱問点



(KRI II, 599.9)

Ramses II . . . it is he who consecrated the house of Amun, who purified Thebes, who placed his name for eternity in Karnak.

The same parallel structure is used in the composition of this sentence as the one just discussed, with the addition of sw^cb w3st. It is difficult to determine whether the consecrating is accomplished by virtue of the purification of Thebes, or whether sw^cb w3st includes the consecrating of pr-Imn as well as the placing of his name at Karnak. In any event, we once again find $s\underline{d}sr$ and sw^cb in close proximity, and it seems that the purification was at least partially responsible for the consecrating of the temple.

In the foregoing pages we have examined a number of texts which use sdsr. This is by no means an exhaustive treatment, simply a survey of some of the most important occurrences that reveal the range of nuances that the word carries in the 18th through 20th Dynasties. The overwhelming majority of these applied to an action done to a temple, shrine or some "holy" spot. This investigation confirms Gardiner's (1946, 51) and Faulkner"s (CDME 260) belief that sdsr means "consecrate," "hallow," "sanctify" and "clear." Unfortunately the texts do not usually include any details as to what actions, rites, magic, and the like were involved in the process.

IV. Dsr as a state or quality of being.

 $\underline{\textit{Dsr}}$ can have the meaning of a "sacred aura" or "mana." A stela from the reign of Ahmose, the founder of the 18th

Dynasty, bears this out:



(Urk. IV, 18.15-16)

Sethe (1914, 10) recognized that <u>dsrw</u> in this passage had an abstract quality, but <u>Herrlichkeit</u> ("splendor") is inadequate to convey the true meaning. We would render this as:

The holiness of Re is hovering over him, Amun being his protection.

"The holiness of Re" may be describing the common motif of the hovering sun-disc over the king as he goes into battle. In addition to the sun-disc, Horus, Nekhbet, or all three might be found hovering over the king in the iconography (Atlas, 61). The presence of these deities fluttering overhead was symbolic of the divine protection over the monarch (Hoffmeier 1983, 67-69). Line 16 of the stela illustrates this point in the second half of the couplet by saying that Amun is his protection. "The holiness of Re," in addition to providing the king with protection, appears to have the effect of warding off the enemy by the dazzling power of the sun. The sun-disc over the head of the king represents Wadjet, the serpent who spits the fire of the sun, and is associated with the Uraeus (Frankfort, 1948a, 17 and 131). Hence the sun-disc and the cobra(s) are fused in the iconography. In the field of battle, the Uraeus actually attacks the enemy. Examples of this are

numerous: e.g. the "Poetical Stela" of Thutmose III (RB 54.7-10), Thutmose III's Gebel el-Barkal Stela (RB 57.4).

The "holiness" of a deity is most commonly found within a temple or shrine. This is well illustrated in New Kingdom texts. A few examples will suffice to show this.

TS. Dalia TS. Dalia

(KRI I, 395.1-2)

. . . The Eternal Lord, Foremost of [the Ennead, King of Heliopolis, Ruler of Thebes,] the holy cult image which is in the Mansion of the Benben.

This list of epithets belongs to Re of Heliopolis. Therefore it is probably his cult statue or fetish that is called $bs \ dsr$. Since the name of the temple of Re is $hwt \ bnbn$, it might be expected that the benben stone itself is $bs \ dsr$. Another possibility is that this expression applies to the hillock where Re created the world and subsequent to that where the Phoenix landed confirming Heliopolis as a sacred spot. This is clearly seen centuries later when Piankhy visits Heliopolis and the temple is called $hwt \ hnbn \ dsr$. The abstract use of dsr here points to the ongoing sacred presence in the temple.

From an inscription at Abu Simbel, which is unfortunately marred by lacunae, another such occurrence is found. The text has been recently transcribed by Kitchen (KRI II, 312. 9-11). Line 9 speaks of renovating or renewing (sm3wy) the chapels of the gods that had fallen into disrepair (w3si).

After this lines 10-11 state:

TITIES SEEMS CONTIN

The break after msi.f might be restored as "statues of the Ennead." This type of expression was studied above (p. 149) from a stela of Thutmose I (<u>Urk</u>. IV, 99.3ff.). There the statues of the great Ennead were fashioned (mst) and their shrines consecrated (sdsr). In the address of Ramses III to Amun at Medinet Habu (KRI V, 116.10) we read:

... 97 豐世以在《美宝古典

 $% \left(1\right) =0$. the Great Ennead being in shrines, (being) holy in their chapels.

The essence of the Thutmose I and Ramses III passages is what the Abu Simbel text is saying:

. . . he fashions the [statues?] of the great [Enn]ead, (being) holy in their shrines.

Perhaps it is the idea of "holy in the shrines" behind the expression dsr m X that was found in the Pyramid Texts (see p. 54-55) and in the Coffin Texts (see p. 118). Dsr m iwnw is found in BD Spell Pleyte 168.43 (Allen 1974, 219) and dsr m Hr had is attested in BD 181 d. (Allen 1974, 195).

Dsr m inbw hd - "Holy in white wall(s)" is an epithet of Osiris in the "Hymn to Osiris" (RB 110.5). Most recently M. Lichtheim (1976, 81) has translated this as "Holy in White Wall." Inbw hd is the old name for Memphis (DG I, 81; AEO II, 122*). Several translations are possible for this formula, but in light of the phrase dsr m k3rw/hmw, "holy in X" is preferable.

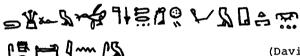
The holiness of a god is something the deceased witnesses in the Book of the Dead (127:3):

Tome Almasa Ta

(Hail to you, Cavern Gods, Dwellers of the west . . . ye annihilate the enemies of Re.) Ye illumine and dispel your darkness; ye see the holiness of (your) Elders.

(Allen 1974, 103)

The state of being holy is applied to the corpse of the deceased Rekhmire in the 18th Dynasty:



(Davies 1943, pl. 106)

He goes about the Vizier, censed and purified (two times), holy in the Mansion of Gold, spending the night by the Sem-Priest.

This text is describing part of the embalming ritual. A priest goes about the deceased vizier censing and purifying (with water) the corpse. Unfortunately the accompanying scene (below) only portrays the latter part of the inscription; the "spending of the night by a Sem-Priest." A Sem-Priest is shown face down on a bed. So the scene does not show the action being described in the first part of the caption. Four registers below the water-purification of Rekhmire is illustrated (Davies 1935, Pl. 24). This may be a later lustration, as there were certainly more than one (Blackman 1918a, 117-24). The ablutions of the dead were a prerequisite to the resurrection and ascension to heaven (Davies 1977, 163-166; Hoffmeier 1981) because it had re-

vivifying effects on the dead (Blackman 1921, 50).

The use of incense was magically significant to the transformation of the deceased into a divine state (Blackman 1912b, 69-75). This is reflected by an obvious word play with $sn\underline{t}r$ (incense) and $sn\underline{t}ri$ ("to make divine" - \underline{Wb} IV, 180).

With this understanding of censing and water purification it is no wonder that the deceased can be described as \(\delta r \) hwt nbw "holy in the Mansion of Gold." The rites have transformed the deceased into a divine/holy state.

Hwt nbw is the "sculptor's workshop" (CDME 166; Morenz 1973, 155) where the "opening of the mouth" ceremony took place (PT \(\frac{5}{8}\) 1329b-133b; Otto 1960, 1ff). In his study of the "opening of the mouth," Baly (1930, 176) reconstructed the sequence of events in the ceremony. The first phase was purification, followed by the "sleep of the Sem." The Rekhmire text and scene under study here, no doubt, fit into the initial part of the "opening of the mouth" rite.

A final use of \underline{dsr} in this classification denotes being devoted or consecrated for priestly service. It was suggested above (p. 147) that \underline{sdsr} could convey this concept. In the Late Egyptian story of "Khonsuemheb and the Spirit" we have such a use.

(Gardiner 1937, 93.1-2)

E. Wente's translations of this tale has correctly grasped the meaning of dsr here:

(Then the High Priest of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, Khonsemhab, said to him: Please express to me a nice commission such as is fit to be done for your in order that I may have it done for you.) Otherwise, I shall (simply) have five men (servants) and five maidservants, totaling ten, devoted to you in order to pour libation water for you (and (have) a sack of emmer delivered daily to be offered to you.)

(Wente 1972, 139-40)

"Devote" is a good translation, for it implies "set apart" or "segregated" for priestly service. In this "Ghost Story" the priests would be "devoted" to serve in the funerary chapel of the deceased spirit. This parallels the Israelite notion of consecration for priestly service.

When Aaron and his sons are being consecrated in Exodus 30:30, שֹׁדְּי is used. More commonly, however, the idiom is used to convey this concept (Exodus 29:29-35).

Since the priests in this Late-Egyptian tale, like the priests of Israel, were serving within a "holy" area, their dedication likely included a ritual of some sort to ensure ceremonial purity. We noted above (pp. 26-27) that the lector priest who served for Rekhmire's funeral had to be purified (w^cb) prior to entering the necropolis.

V. Attributive use of dsr.

A. Sacred Space. We have already observed that with the Coffin Texts \underline{dsr} becomes more and more a term that describes "sacred space." In the New Kingdom \underline{dsr} is applied to a wide range of temples, shrines and structures assoc-

iated with deities.

1. St dsrt. This expression continues to have the same range of meanings that we found in Middle Kingdom texts, when the phrase originated. Since st has a wide range of meanings, including seat, throne, place and space (Wb IV.1), we cannot always be certain of the precise translation. It usually is the place or seat of a god (Wb IV.2). St dsrt occurs with such frequency that we simply cannot catalogue every example here. We shall, however, cite enough examples to provide a good understanding of the expression.

The Medinet Habu temple of Thutmose III records this text:

(Urk. IV, 882.10-13)

He made (it) as his monument for his father Amun, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, foremost of "Holiness of the West," having set up his holy seat (or place) of creation (lit. the first occasion). It was ennobled as a work of eternity. Now his majesty had found (it) fallen into ruin.

 $\underline{D}srt\ imntt$ is the name for the Theban necropolis (\underline{Wb} V, 616.2) where the structure in question was being built. While not explicitly stated, it appears that $st.f\ \underline{d}srt$ is a part of the monument which the king built for Amun. The reference

to building the "holy place of creation" is interesting. Eliade (1957, 56-57) maintains that the building of a house, like a temple, in many religious traditions is more than just a building, it has mythic significance:

The house is not an object, a "machine to live in"; it is the universe that man constructs for himself by imitating the paradigmatic creation of the gods, the cosmogony. Every construction and every inauguration of a new dwelling are in some measure equivalent to a new beginning, a new life. And every beginning repeats the primordial beginning, when the universe first saw the light of day.

The primeval hill, in Egyptian religious thought was regarded as most sacred for it was the spot first exposed to Re at the beginning of time (Frankfort 1948a, 152; Wilson 1946, 59-60). Such spots then became the sites upon which temples were built. This is reflected in an inscription of Hatshepsut at Karnak (<u>Urk</u>. IV, 364) which speaks of Karnak as the hill of the first occasion. This attitude towards Thebes is reiterated in the Leiden "Hymns to Amun" (Gardiner 1905, 21).

Frankfort (1948a, 152) pointed out that the "holy of holies" of a temple, where the cult statue or fetish stood, was located on the hillock. For this reason Thutmose III could refer to the holy place of the first occasion since it had special mythic/sacred connotations. The expression st dsrt nt sp tpy is known in other inscriptions (e.g. Thutmose IV's Sphinx Stela, Urk. IV. 1542.3).

The connection with the primeval hill, p^c (\bigcirc), and a statement in Papyrus Harris I (Erichsen 1933, 7.2) is

interesting:

= - 327 = 3 = 5 = 1212 - 4140

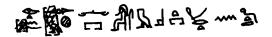
It is in your great, holy place in Karnak that you appear. Perhaps p^{cc} has the dual meaning of the appearance of the deity and the hillock. In this text too the $st \ \underline{d}srt$ is located in Karnak temple. The Thutmose III text likens the $st \ \underline{d}srt$ to a "a work of eternity," a rather standard boast which stresses the durability of the structure (\underline{wb} III, 300).

St dsrt has a broader application than just the "holy of holies" or shrine within a temple as the texts cited here suggest. It can also be descriptive of the whole temple area. Some inscriptions of Seti I's temple at Abydos indicate this.

产品学品长四川 101

(KRI I, 165.7)

Making for him a clear temple, a holy place for the lords of eternity.



(KRI I, 165.16)

Making for him an august chapel as a holy place of eternity. Both of these statements are grammatically similar. The one appears to contain two phrases in apposition. If this is the case, then, the two parts are synonymous. In the first text a clean temple $(\hbar wt \ n\underline{t}r \ twr)$ is the "sacred place of the

Sacred throne may be the idea behind a statement on the statue of Khaemwast of Bubastis:

77.12 <u>25.3" tt</u> <u>21</u>1 225.164

(Urk. IV, 1932, 6-7)

... that he may be summoned to the righteous ones who are in the presence of Onnophris, that he may draw near before the sacred throne. The context is suggestive of the deceased being summoned before the divine tribunal of Onnophris (Osiris), which leads to the observation that st dsrt in this instance is the throne of the deity.

The wide range of applications for this expression is further witnessed by the land of Punt being called st dsrt (Urk. IV, 320.2). Elsewhere in Hatshepsut's inscription of the Punt expedition, that land is described as w pw dsr n t3 ntr - "that sacred region of the god's land." T3 ntr is a common appellation for Punt (Urk. IV, 345). The reason for this is likely because the exotic goods coming from Punt were especially sought by Egyptian royalty. For this reason this mysterious land was thought to be a mystical, divine land. Another point for consideration is that dsr may imply "segregated," for, as Wilson notes (1951, 176), Puntites were surprised that the Egyptians could find Punt

($\underline{\text{ARE}}$ II, 257). The idea of its inaccessibility might be included too.

St <u>dsrt</u> most frequently, however, is associated with a temple or shrine. For this reason, titles are recorded by those who carried out cultic functions within the st <u>dsrt</u>. We noted already (pp. 128-130) that such titles are found as early as the 11th Dynasty (e.g. mn <u>tbt</u> m st <u>dsrt</u>). A similar title is hr nmtt m st <u>dsrt</u> - "of pleasant movement in the holy place" (<u>Urk</u>. IV, 1840.9). Another title looks like the boast of a priest who acts on behalf of the king in some cultic rite: ^ck hr nb.f m st <u>dsr(t)</u> (Legrain 1906, 44) - "who enters on account of his lord into the holy place." This clearly was an honor which this official from Abydos wished to be catalogued along with his other titles and ranks. ¹²

A similar boast is recorded on the stela of Nebwawi, high priest of Osiris at Abydos:

TIFF - STAP 18 X = STAP POS MA - TA - E. w & - TI 9 A P 2 - HT !!. MA 8 I - T. . . . & I **

(Urk. IV, 1494.15-19)

Now I (received) praise from the king, I having been summoned to his house of gold that my place might be appointed among his officials. My feet freely roved about in the holy place, I having been anointed with the finest oil!

The priest recounts the honor he received from the king.

It is unclear whether the place of service was in the "house

of gold" or was that only the place he received his commission? Breasted (\underline{ARE} II, §185) translates st dsrt as "the splendid palace." But this assumes that the "house of gold" is the palace, which is now thought to mean "the treasury" (CDME 89). Nowhere is the palace called pr n nbw. The treasury does not fit the context of priestly service, but could be the place of commissioning. Pr n nbw might be a variation of hwt nbw which is the name of the temple of Abydos or it could be the sculptor's workship where some of the funerary rituals were observed (CDME 166; Morenz 1973, 155). Either of these options make sense in the provenance of Abydos where this priest served. During the 18th Dynasty there was no royal residence at Abydos. Whichever of the two suggestions made here is correct, we would expect to find that such a temple or mortuary workshop would contain a "holy place."

2. \underline{p}_{srw} of the palace $({}^{c}h)$.

The biographical inscription of Intef, Herald of Thutmose III, which was studied above (pp. 155-156) revealed that while on a foreign campaign Intef was responsible for setting up the king's living quarters (<u>Urk</u>. IV, 975.1-9). Intef states that he made this camp "better than the palaces of Egypt" which entailed its purification (w^cb , tw(r)i) and sanctification (s\$t3w, $s\underline{d}sr$). From this description it may be inferred that the palace, the residence of Horus-in-the-flesh, was a temple for the god-king. Eric

Uphill (1972, 722) has pointed out that the throne in the palace was arranged like a shrine of a god in a temple. He goes on to say:

Every object he touched was deemed sacred, everywhere he sat must be placed at a higher level upon a dais, thus commanding the place where others stood.

While surviving, excavated royal palaces are few in number, they must have been impressive structures indeed. With this somewhat limited understanding of the Egyptian palace we endeavour as best as possible to interpret texts which make reference to the royal residence.

Frequently we find $\underline{d}sr(w)$ in the context of the palace. Two such references come from the reign of Hatshepsut:

月ン田口道でではです。 18 mm 本内は 11 mm 13 meral 1-2

(Urk. IV, 349.10-12)

In regnal year 9 a session took place in the audience-hall. The king appeared with the atef-crown upon the great throne of electrum within the sacred (parts) of his palace.

The queen is seated in the audience hall or throne room $(\underline{d}_3dw, \underline{wb} \ V, 527)$ decked with the atef-crown and seated on the great throne which is located $m-\underline{h}nw$ $\underline{d}srw$ nw ch , f, which can be variously translated. Naville $(\underline{D}_{\bullet}, \underline{el}, \underline{B}, \underline{III}, 20)$ regarded this as "the hallow place of his palace." Breasted $(\underline{ARE}, \underline{II}, \underline{6292})$ continues with his interpretation of $\underline{d}sr$ meaning "splendid"; "in the midst of the splendors of his palace." Gardiner $(\underline{1946}, 51)$ thought the meaning of $\underline{d}srw$ was abstract, meaning "in the seclusion of the palace."

Naville's translation is very similar to the one we have offered here. Gardiner's suggestion in essence is the same, and he may be correct. In the Coffin Texts the expression $m-\underline{h}nw$ $\underline{d}srw$ is written many times and it appears to be a locative expression (cf. pp. 89-92). If this is the case then $\underline{d}srw$ should be a place rather than a description of an abstract quality.

When we consider that the throne room was not easily accessible to anyone, we understand the essence of this statement. One example of a palace throne room is preserved at Ramses III's mortuary temple, Medinet Habu (Hölscher 1934, pl. 2, see Figure 22). Just inside the great pylon, to the left of the large court we find a small palace which the monarch usually occupied in his visits to western Thebes. In order to approach the throne room, one would first have to pass through the outer gateway, then proceed through the pylon, into the court that contains the seven large Osirian statues of the king, turn left and pass through a door. Once through this door one finds a small pillared court. Behind the southernmost wall of this court lies the throne room. But access to this chamber was via an entrance on the west side of that room. So one had to turn right out of the pillared court and left through a hallway and then left again in to the throne room. room is most certainly "segregated." Thus one is justified in seeing this as either a "sacred" room or possibly

"seclusion" as Gardiner postulated. Either meaning fits into what we believe dsr denotes.

The second text from Hatshepsut's reign is inscribed on a statue of Senmut (Legrain 1906, 63, 1. 6), the vizier of that queen. The text recounts many of Senmut's titles and functions on behalf of his sovereign. In line six he tells of how he was summoned $r \, \underline{dsrw}^{\ c}h$ - "to the segregated/holy part of the palace." From this text it can be argued that \underline{dsrw} was a place in the palace. The inclusion of this statement indicates that access to the \underline{dsrw} was a privilege which Senmut considered a great honor.

Senmut's statement is not unique. Amenhotpe, the high steward $(imy-r \ pr \ wr)$ of Amenophis III at Memphis (<u>Urk</u>. IV, 1794) relates how he did the same thing:

みかるの目りかんなかっとるかっといい

(Urk. IV, 1794. 13-14)

Ich trete in den Palaste ein, auch wenn er abgesperrt ist, um den Horus in diesem seinem Haus zu sehen. (Helck 1961, 260)

Helck's treatment is interesting because he sees \underline{dsr} as meaning abgesperrt ist. This stresses that Horus (the King) is "cordoned off" or segregated which is close to Gardiner's idea of "seclusion" in the Hatshepsut text. The particle $ti \ sw + m \ \underline{dsrw}$ brings out the idea "while he was in the \underline{dsrw} " (Gardiner Grammar, §119.4). This actually strengthens the high steward's boast: "I entered into the palace (even) while he was in the \underline{dsrw} to behold Horus in this house of his." This idea of the sanctity of the area belonging to a

god is underscored by calling the king Horus. The structure of Amenhotpe's statement clearly communicates that this was an honor. Not only did he actually go before the king, but even in the segregated area of the palace called the $\underline{d}srw$. Perhaps the dsrw was an epithet of the throne room.

Later in the 18th Dynasty Djhuty-mose, a vizier, makes a similar claim. He says:

(<u>Urk</u>. IV, 1913.12)

For the k3 of the nomarch who enters at the \underline{dsrw} in the palace (L.P.H.).

Helck (1961, 315) for some reason renders $\underline{dsrw} \ m \ stp \ s3$ as "Herrlichkeit im Palast." This is unfortunate since he seems to have truly grasped the meaning of this expression in the previously studied passage. Again we see this in the context of the official reviewing his most significant accomplishments. Here hr replaces r as seen in the previous two texts, and stp-s3, another term for palace (\underline{Wb} IV, 340) replaces \underline{ch} . Essentially the same point is being made. This expression comes up again in the biography of an official of Akhenaton at Amarna (Sandman 1938, 56.15):

... $\underline{ch} \ m-b3h \ m \ \underline{dsr} \ \underline{ch} \ 14$ These texts lead to the unavoidable conclusion that there was a section of the palace, perhaps the throne room, which was segregated from the rest of the court and thus could be called \underline{dsr} . These claims suggest that only the highest ranking officials were

admitted. Since it was Horus who was seated there (as in Amenhotpe's text), the place must be considered sacred by virtue of his presence (Uphill 1972, 722).

In connection with the seclusion or sacredness of the throne room, Intef the herald of Thutmose III makes a very interesting statement when he reviews his duties within the palace:

(Urk. IV, 967.10-14)

He places gifts in the [palace] only when awe is [produced] within the great seat, when noise is silenced, when seclusion(?) is created, when a foot is protected from being in the place of silence...

If Sethe's restoration (Urk. IV, 967.10) of in the lacuna is correct, then the following lines fit into a palace context. This is supported by the appearance of st wrt, great seat or throne (Wb IV, 7), in line 11. The meaning of sppr dsrw is admittedly a bit obscure. The lacuna at the beginning of line 11 is also troubling. Sethe (Urk. IV, 967.11) restores this as All . The line would read: "awe is produced with in the throne (room)." This is accomplished by silencing noise, creating an awe of silence. The mention of silence in the presence of the king in his palace is most interesting for this notion is also expressed in Israelite religion:

ויהוה בהיכל קדשו הם מפניו פל-ארץ (Habakkuk 2:20)

Since Yahweh is in his holy temple, "silence" before him, all the earth.

The word rendered "temple" (הֹיכֹל) in its root meaning is "palace" which is derived from Sumerian É-GAL = "big house" i.e. palace (BDB 228), just as $pr^{c}3$ (great house) is one of the Egyptian expressions for palace (Wb I, 516). The Habakkuk text, therefore, points to Yahweh being in his residence, a fact that should evoke an awe of silence as the appropriate human response.

Intef then "creates \underline{dsrw} ." Perhaps seclusion or "segregated" is to be understood because this state of \underline{dsrw} is brought about by protecting or guarding people from entering the "silent place." He thus keeps the area around the throne, which we posited above could be called \underline{dsrw} $m^{-c}h$, clear of intrusions, noise and people.

The throne room was called $\underline{dsr}(w)$ because of the divine presence of Horus incarnate and because the place was kept clear of and protected from intrusion. So this spot might be considered doubly sacred.

3. Dsr as an attribute of temples and shrines.

So far in this chapter we have seen a number of ways where \underline{dsr} and $s\underline{dsr}$ in some way have applied to temples and shrines, but now we shall examine texts where \underline{dsr} is used as an adjective describing the quality of a sanctuary.

On the same statue of Senmut mentioned in the previous section, we read of the Queen's building activity at Karnak which is described as $mnw.\underline{t}$ ipn nfrw $\underline{d}srw$ (Legrain 1906,

62, line 9) - "these beautiful, sacred monuments of yours."

In Old Kingdom sources, it was noticed (pp. 19-21 and 28)

that <u>dsr</u> and <u>nfr</u> are used in parallel expressions (i.e.

w3t <u>dsrt/w3t</u> nfrt) and that nfr, according to Donohue

(1978, 43-48) has a more dynamic meaning than "beautiful,"

"rejuvenate" he suggests. Therefore, the monuments under question are not simply being described as aesthetically pleasing, but dynamic and holy.

In a building inscription of Thutmose III at Medinet Habu we find the following description of a shrine built for Amun:

He made (it) as his monument for his father Amun, Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, Foremost of <u>Dsrt immtt</u>. He erected a holy shrine of fine sandstone, his exact seat of the first occasion. My majesty ennobled it anew.

The monument in question is a shrine ($hm - \underline{Wb}$ III, 280.10) built in honor of Amun patron of the Theban necropolis, "holiness of the west" (\underline{Wb} V. 616.2). Once again we find the shrine being referred to as the place or seat of the first occasion. The use of mtyt is to strengthen that claim; the precise or exact place of the moment of creation. No wonder it can be described as $hm \, dsr$.

A text which incorporates some of these very concepts is found inscribed on the 3rd pylon at Karnak by Amenophis III:

me ////////

頭ってを 批誤及びはできる中国

(Urk. IV, 1725.6-7)

The sacred temple of the one who sired him was adorned by means of beautiful and august monuments of eternity.

This text is poorly preserved and several unfortunate lacunae have obliterated the text in a few critical places. But this is clearly a building-dedication type text. Hut and addition to meaning "palace" also means "temple" or "temple hall" (Wb III, 3-4). Since this passage is written at Karnak, "temple" or a section of that temple is the likely meaning. Helck (1961, 229) translates dsrt as "hehr." "Holy" or "sacred" fits this temple context, especially since the king mentions decorating or adorning (shkr) the temple. This suggests that the structure only needed refurbishing or decorating with inscriptions and scenes. It was already a "sacred temple" built for Amun who had sired him (ms sw).

Further on in the same passage there is mention of the sacred portion of the temple, which is also marred by obliterations:

11371/1420-2111/122-2111/1420-2111-12-2111/1420-2111-12-211-2111-12-211-21

(Urk. IV, 1725.19-1726.2)

//////in it as the first occasion, his precise, holy place (or seat) on which he had rested.

This text is a very important one that may shed light on the original hierophany that made ipt swt, "select" or "venerated of places" (Barguet LA III, #3, 342), a holy spot. "His precise, holy place on which he had rested" may be an allusion to that sacred moment at the beginning of time when Karnak was founded. The Leiden Hymns to Amun (Gardiner 1905, 21) state that Thebes was the place of creation. The god's "resting" or "alighting" (hnt - Wb III, 287) on his place appears to refer back to the moment when the light of Amun-Re first shone on this spot marking it as the $st \, \underline{d}srt \, m \, sp \, tpy$ - "the holy place of creation" (Frankfort 1948a. 152; Wilson 1946, 59-60). While this suggestion is very attractive, the poor state of preservation of the text has left gaps in the text where the name of the deity in question would have been written so that certainty of interpretation remains somewhat tenuous. 15

In the 18th Dynasty we also find \underline{dsr} used when speaking of shrines. In celebrating her Heb Sed, Hatshepsut erected two great obelisks at Karnak. The inscriptions thereon mention herself as

四一是一一是女人上了一个

(Urk. IV, 357.13)

(the shining image of Amun) whom he made to appear as king upon the throne of Horus, in front of the holies of the palace. (Lichtheim 1976,26)

This line seems to allude to some phase of the Sed festival.

Frankfort (1948a, 80) observes that archaic reed shrines were erected for use in some of the rituals. This may account for the pr wr being determined by (1954, 35-36 and 82) believes that this shrine evolved from an earlier wattle structure that resembled a seated Anubis. In the New Kingdom these shrines, with the same determinative, were sometimes made of ebony (Urk. IV, 521.10). pr wr is also the national shrine of Upper Egypt (CDME 89). This shrine played a central role in the Heb Sed because the souls of the ancestral kings resided there (Frankfort 1948a, 95-96). The traditional crown of Upper Egypt is located in the pr wr and is taken from there for the coronation ceremony (Frankfort 1948a, 97). The crowning takes place in the pavilioned dais in front of the shrine. dsrw of the pr wr might be connected to the dais where the king was crowned at his coronation or the re-crowning at the Heb Sed which would "confirm the bond between ancestors and rulers" (Frankfort 1948a, 97).

Hatshepsut's claim fits this scenario. The throne of Horus is mentioned as being in front of the $\underline{d}srw$ of the $pr\ wr$. The orthography of $\underline{d}srw$ is odd, but is clearly plural as the genitival adjective nw illustrates. This shows that the $\underline{d}srw$ was a part of the shrine. Whether it is an abstract description "holies" as Lichtheim (1976, 26) has interpreted, or "the holy (places) of the $pr\ wr$ " is uncertain. But there is no question that this archaic

shrine, which is used in the re-enactment of this ancient ritual, is considered most sacred.

The Heb Sed is a festival which Egyptologists yearn to know more about, so any new insights are appreciated. The $pr\ wr$ served an important function in the rites. Seti I's dedication stela to his father records (KRI I, 111.4) information on the coronation of Ramses I. He mentions being seated on the dais and being purified in the $pr\ wr$. The Heb Sed entails a re-enactment of coronation; even the date of the Sed festival occurred on the anniversary of coronation (Frankfort 1948a, 79). Therefore some of the rites in the two observances would be the same. In any event, the \underline{dsrw} of Hatshepsut's text might be an allusion to the "sacred rituals" that would have taken place in or in front of the $pr\ wr$. This would include the purification (${}^{c}bw$) as mentioned in the Ramses I text. Purification rites were also a part of the Heb Sed (Frankfort 1948a, 81).

In the 19th Dynasty there are numerous examples where \underline{dsr} describes the sacred quality of a temple. The Abydos Cenotaph of Osiris, built by Seti I, has produced many occurrences. \underline{Hwt} \underline{ntr} \underline{dsrt} - "holy temple" is recorded (KRI I, 130.8) and \underline{hwt} \underline{ntr} \underline{w}^cb (KRI I, 131.1). In the same sequence of lines $\underline{c}h$ \underline{dsr} (KRI I, 129.12; 131.9) is also attested. These "sacred" structures are said to be made for the "lords of eternity." A hymn to Onnophris at Abydos (KRI I, 359.11) mentions:

心态的后一关2用代盖

Praise to Onnophris in his holy temple of the Ennead which is in This.

The cenotaph was made for Osiris (i.e. Onnophris) and the Abydene Ennead. This divine presence requires a "holy" abode.

From the Ramesside era we find that dsrw + rack might simply be translated "sanctuary." One official recalls following his god r dsrw m hb.f n tp rnpt (KRI III, 382.10-11) - "to the sanctuary in his new year's festival."

<u>Dsr Dsrw</u> "Holy of Holies" denotes the idea of "most holy" just like the holy of holies in the temple of Solomon (or the tabernacle) is called קרשׁי הקרשׁים (cf. I Ki. 7:50; 8:6, Exodus 26:33-34). The forms of the Hebrew and Egyptian expressions are Very similar. The two words appear to be

a bound construction (the Hebrew certainly is), with the second element being plural in both.

This being the case, caution needs to be exercised and the context needs to be certain before rendering $\underline{d}srw$ as "sanctuary" in such texts. On the same stela Ramses II mentions rebuilding the structure, "it being purified for its lord, the ennead which is in $\underline{d}srt$ " (KRI II, 311.7-8). If this is a writing for the same structure as the one dwelt in by Amun-Re in line 4, it has a feminine t rather than w for the ending. Even if in some of these inscriptions the general area of Deir el-Bahri is what is meant, it should be remembered that this portion of the Theban necropolis held the mortuary temples and tombs of Nebhepetre, the 17th Dynasty kings, and Hatshepsut. Therefore the vicinity might accordingly be called "sacred." It was, after all, t3 $\underline{d}sr$ and the entire Theban necropolis was called dsrt imntt (Wb V, 616.2).

Similar confusion exists in other New Kingdom mortuary texts. Rekhmire's tomb, which admirably documents the funerary services of the Grand Vizier, shows a boat docking on the west shore to carry out some phase of the funeral rites (Davies 1943, pl. XCII). The accompanying text mentions offering the leg of beef m dsr imntt n wsir. It is difficult to determine whether this is a variant writing for the Theban necropolis (dsr(t) imntt) or the dsr-shrine. A shrine is shown on the shore and there a priest offers the leg of beef. The text may be translated,

"at the sacred-shrine of the west belonging to Osiris" (i.e. the shrine). \underline{D}_{ST} has no determinative. But if the shrine is what \underline{d}_{ST} is, the shrine shown near the writing would serve as the determinative. Using the actual object for the determinative is a well established convention, especially in tombs where the scene and caption are close to each other (Fischer 1977, 3-4). If \underline{d}_{ST} imntt is the name of the Theban necropolis, which it could be, we are required to add a t to \underline{d}_{ST} as it is normally written.

4. Sacred precincts and geographical features.

Amenophis III left rather extensive records concerning the founding of Luxor temple. Amid the usual flowery rhetoric we have this statement:

キャススア...ロ巴田子... III-81日本日 1214日27-31-3111316 411 系。

(Urk. IV, 1686, 2-5)

Erecting Luxor Temple anew, it being made high and expanded greatly, that its holy places (or things?) might be seen joyfully, its beauty being like that of the horizon of heaven.

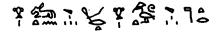
Helck (1961, 212) renders this critical section "man erblickt seine Pracht in Freude indem seine Schönheit wie die des Horizonts des Himmels ist." In essence this inscription is very close in meaning to the Karnak text just examined. The temple is again likened to the horizon of heaven. The reference to "its holy places (things?) being seen" is a bit odd. Earlier we noted that in CT V, 395h-i there is the boast of seeing "the secret holy things" pre-

sumably related to offering rites (see p. 95). In CT VII, 101k, the deceased boasts of seeing the "holy things of Anubis." The Luxor text may be alluding to a similar boast of seeing the holy things or places within the temple. 16

The orthography of \underline{dsrw} does not assist in deciding which interpretation should be followed; no determinative is used. In the context of the statement of erecting the temple, one would expect \underline{dsrw} to refer back to the previous lines. This would make it a description of the whole temple and could mean "holy places" or "precinct."

At the outset of this chapter, the stela of Neferhotpe was examined (138-140). It was there observed that $t3 \ \underline{dsr}$ not only meant the segregated area known as the necropolis, but could apply to any area cordoned off for some special purpose. Other expressions are known that use \underline{dsr} and describe such an area.

Ramses II records the building of a temple (hwt ntr)



(KRI II, 301.9)

on sacred ground, on divine land.

Farag (1939, 131) rendered this as "sur un sol sacré, sur un territoire divin." The use of parallelism is revealing, for here \underline{dsrt} and \underline{ntry} are synonymous. Furthermore, the mention of this area being divine and sacred likely means that it already had been an existing (perhaps at an earlier date)

cult center. And we know that it was a common practice to build a temple upon the site of earlier holy plots and incorporate the earlier blocks into the new in order to transmit some of the sacredness of the previous temple into the new structure (Habachi 1957, 38, Morenz 1973, 87). The area Ramses II mentions might be understood to be a sacred precinct.

In an almost identical text, Ramses III writes of building:

后的是意思与意思的图像

(Barquet 1962, 52)

Barguet (1962, 52) translates this as "en une grande place sacrée, sur le sol divin, en avant d'Ipet-sout." Ramses III is here describing the Karnak temple, clearly showing that the sacred place and divine plot was Karnak itself.

This concept may lie behind a line in the Medinet Habu poetic address to Amun-Re by Ramses III. In his prayer he reminds his god of the temple he built at Karnak:

ME C. a wall for the

(KRI V, 116.9)

I built for you a mansion of millions of years in the sacred precinct of Thebes. $\,$

This leads us to believe that the entire Karnak precinct could be called dsrw.

In the Coffin Texts it was noticed that the heavenly realm was called $t3~pw~\underline{d}sr$ (pp. 85-87). A more common way

to refer to the nether world is dw3t (CDME 310). Ramses II tells of setting up a statue for Mnevis-Onnophris r wbn r^{o} m 3ht.f hr dw3t dsrt n nbw iwnw (KRI II, 363.15-16) - "in order that Re may shine in his horizon on the holy Duat for the lords of Heliopolis." El-Alfi (1972, 177) translates dw3t dsrt as "Douat sacré." Dw3(t) dsr () is also recorded in the "Book of Gates" during the 11th hour (Bucher 1932, 75). It is quite appropriate to describe the Duat as holy since the gods resided there, and specifically, as our text above illustrates, Re shines there.

 \underline{p}_{Sr} is occasionally used to qualify certain geographical features. A statue of Maanakhtef dating to the reign of Amenophis II from Medamud mentions a holy mountain:

11公12~3公日二四四日之人

(<u>Urk</u>. IV, 1483, 15-16)

He follows his god, he circumambulates his palace in his festival of that holy mountain.

Drioton (1927, 51), who published the statue, translated the last part of the line as "de cette montagne
sainte." Similarly, Helck (1961, 119) rendered this as

"jenes heiligen Berges." The festival of the mountain is
likely connected with Hathor, the patron goddess of the
Theban necropolis (Bonnet 1952, 277ff.; Bleeker 1973, 30-31)
whose shrine goes back at least to the 11th Dynasty (Naville
1907, 63). Naville's (1907, 63-67, pl. XXVII) excavations

at Deir el-Bahri, from the early part of this century, uncovered a shrine of Hathor. The statue of this cow-goddess is shown emerging from a cave in the mountain. The shrine is designed to give that impression (Naville 1907, 66; Bleeker 1973, 30-31).

Earlier in this 18th Dynasty text (<u>Urk</u>. IV, 1483.8) mention is made of hwt wrt nt mntw/// - "the great mansion of Montu(hotpe)" which is most likely the mortuary temple of Montuhotpe Nebhepetre. No doubt this is the mansion $^{c}ht.f$ (lit. "his mansion") which is mentioned in the line of the text under study here. This mountainous area of the Theban necropolis is clearly identified with Hathor for objects found in this area use the epithet "Hathor, Lady of Dsrt" (Naville 1907, pl. XXV, E).

The Maanakhtef inscription records the celebration of the festival of this mountain, which included circumambulating (phr) his mansion. How the writing is to be interpreted is problematic. Four readings might be suggested. 1) It is a writing for dsr.wy, which has an exclamatory force, but this is usually associated with adjectival predicates (Grammar, \$49). Since wy is connected with the dual ending (Grammar, \$49, observation) it could mean "twice holy." 2) Closely related in essence is the possibility that this is an abbreviated writing for Grammar (Spsin) which would mean "twice" or "very" (Spsin) which would mean "twice" or "very" (Spsin). It would be rendered "that very holy mountain" or

"holiest mountain." 3) In the 20th dynasty reference is made to the mortuary temple of Nebhepetre being checked during the investigation surrounding the tomb robberies. The location of this temple is said to be in (Peet 1930, pl. II, 3, 1. 14). This term was used as the name for the general area of Deir el-Bahri (D. el B. I, 5). Could the writing we an abbreviation for or faulty writing of the name of this area? But even in this late writing, the dual strokes could refer to "two-fold" for der derw.

4. Another solution, which might be the easiest to explain, is that this writing is an attempt to vocalize the final 'e', *Tốsrĕ. The writing of ∨ was a method of marking this sound in Late Egyptian.

A logical question emerges from an understanding of this meaning "that holy mountain." Was it from the name of the revered mountain that the names for the area and, subsequent to that, the name of Hatshepsut's temple (\(\overline{dsr} \) \(\overline{dsr} \) \(\overline{dsr} \) were derived? The mountain would have gained this holy status by virtue of the epiphany of Hathor emerging from the mountain. In the New Kingdom Hathor is associated with "The Lady of the West" in the iconography (S\(\overline{a} \) version = S\(\overline{o} \) derbergh 1957, XXV; Davies 1935, 24). From the Old Kingdom onwards, she would reach out her hands to meet the deceased upon arrival in the west for burial. Hathor, then, has a place in the funerary rites (Frankfort 1948b, 110-111).

These considerations were undoubtedly in the minds of the Egyptians when this area was selected to be the burial area for royalty and nobility. Furthermore, mountains (dw) are commonly associated with necropoli (DG VI, 113).

A hierophany of Hathor at this mountain is consistent with mountains being associated with theopanies or the dwelling place of deity in other religious traditions (e.g. Mount Sinai (Exodus 19-20) and the Temple Mount (II Samuel 24:16ff.) for Israel; Mount Saphon for the Canaanites; Mount Olympus in Greek mythology; the Mount of Transfiguration in Christianity). According to Eliade (1957, 36-40), a mountain symbolizes a meeting place between heaven and earth, which makes it an especially desirous place to build a temple. It has been convincingly argued that the Sumerian and Babylonian ziqqurats were in essence man-made mountains since mountains were unknown in the Tigris-Euphrates valley (Saggs 1962, 355-57; Roux 1980², 156-57; Eliade 1957, 40-41). The shrine atop the ziqqurat would be the place of communion between god and man.

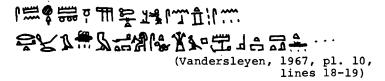
Regarding the text of Maanakhtef, we might conclude that the god who is led about the mansion is the deified Nebhepetre (i.e. his statue). Hathor plays a central role in the festivals of the dead as Bleeker (1967, 134) has shown. Hathor's presence would "renew the life" (Bleeker 1967, 134) of the deceased. The procession of the statue around the mortuary temple just below "that holy mountain," wherein was the shrine of Hathor, may have been thought

to be how the life was renewed.

In CT VII, 264 the deceased informs us of his being in "sacred lake" (§ \underline{dsr}). This spell survives into the Book of the Dead Chapter 136b, 9-10 where it is §.f \underline{dsr} - "his sacred lake." An interpretation of this lake was made above (pp. 113-115). It was suggested that the "sacredness" of the lake was obtained because in it were certain deities that joined the deceased during his purification. Since the two mortuary texts refer to the very same lake, the interpretation suggested above applies here.

B. Sacred things.

The utensils associated with a cult would necessarily be considered sacred in order to minister to the deity. A stela from the reign of Ahmose recounts that monarch's building accomplishments:



(His Majesty commanded the repairing of the chapels which had fallen into decay throughout the whole land,) the ennobling of the monuments of the gods, the raising up of their ramparts, the placing of the holy things in the august chamber, ¹⁷ the covering of the secret place...

Vandersleyen translates <u>dsrw</u> as "les objets sacrés" (1967, 145) then comments on this by saying "Le sens abstrait de <u>dsrw</u>: séparation, consécration, caractère sacré" (149, note 57). Ahmose's statement then, meant

that he not only repaired the temples but he re-established the proper cultic functions which included furnishing the temples with the sacred utensils. Perhaps Ahmose was undertaking the task of refurbishing many of the temples after the expulsion of the Hyksos when such a project would have been needed. If Hatshepsut's claim at Speos Artimedos (cf. pp. 152ff) is to be trusted, then Ahmose was not able to accomplish his renovations as thoroughly as he would like us to believe.

In Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri, Amun-Re says that he would give the monarch $h^c w.t ipn nfrw dsrw$ (Urk. IV, 280.4) - "these beautiful, sacred crowns of yours." Passing mention was made already (p.144) that crowns were regarded as charged with power and linked with the Two Ladies, Wadjet and Nekhbet (Frankfort, 1948a, 107), therefore it is most fitting to describe the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt as being "holy." Hatshepsut's Golden Horus name was $ntry h^c w$ (Urk. 358.12 and 361.4), while Thutmose III chose $dsr h^c w$ (Wb V, 612.1; Urk. 161.2-5) as did Seti I (KRI I, 30.6), Merneptah (Wb V, 612.1; KRI IV, 24.5) and Ramses III (KRI V, 110.5). This illustrates that not only was the sacredness of the crowns an important concept, but that it became a popular title of the monarchs of the New Kingdom.

In the Coffin Texts we are told of the various sacred doors and portals through which the traveler must pass en

route to his eternal abode (cf. pp. 109-113). The reason for these doors being considered sacred was that they served to keep out unwanted, evil forces who might otherwise enter and defile a sacred area. This same principle lies behind the frequent occurrence of $sbyt \ \underline{d}srt$ "sacred portal" which officials tell us they saw within a temple along with other wonders (Urk. IV, 438.4-5).

It has been recently argued (Spencer 1980, 161-64) that sby means a wooden screen of some sort that was used in the temple to conceal or protect something. Sbyt is also thought to be a porch (163-64) connected to an entryway where a guard might be seated. Sbyt dsrt is written at Karnak during the 30th Dynasty and Barguet (1962, 29-30, n. 2) thinks it is an "avant-port." These sacred portals or screens, many of them located in Karnak, are so described because they keep the defiling forces out and hence protect the sacred area within.

Closely related to these sacred portals is an adjoining chamber which is also described as "sacred" in an inscription of Amenophis III at Luxor temple:

いないいのなるないないこととでしま

(Urk. IV, 1684.1)

. . . who made high and widened Thebes, (namely) Luxor temple, the sacred gateway of the "All Lord."

This statement is a part of a building inscription which tells of Amenophis III's construction at Luxor temple, a

structure which he inaugurated (Steindorff and Seele, 1957, 156-160). The cryt dsrt is in apposition to ipt rst, making the temple the "sacred gateway of the All Lord." Helck (1961, 211) understands cryt dsrt as "herrliche Torhalle." cryt is a term for doorleaf (\underline{Wb} I, 209). But this word also means "hall of Judgement" (\underline{CDME} 45), and the meaning "holy place" has been assigned to cryt (\underline{Wb} I, 209). Since this structure is connected to the "All Lord" it might be that the temple was seen as the entry-way or bridge connecting the sacred and profane worlds. Eliade (1956, 26-27) regards temple gates as especially symbolic of this. This may explain why the cryt is considered dsrt. C. Epithets of deities using dsr.

Perhaps the longest-standing epithet in this classification is nb t3 dsr - "lord of the necropolis," an originally Anubian epithet that is found as early as Dynasties 3 and 4 (cf. p. 16). In the New Kingdom a host of gods are known as "lord of the necropolis." Of course Anubis is still the lord of the necropolis (Urk. IV, 965.3), but so is Onnophris (Urk. IV, 1515.15), Nefertum (Foucart, 1928, 8), Wepwawet (Urk. IV, 1495.8), Osiris Heqa-Djet (Urk. IV, 1014.15), Osiris-Khentyamentiu (Urk. IV, 1479.18-19) and the Great God (ntr c3) (Urk. IV, 996.4). There are groups of gods and goddesses who are given this same epithet, e.g. "the Great Ennead, lords of the Necropolis (KRI I, 154, 3) and "the Ladies of the Necropolis" which are portrayed as

a series of cows (Piankoff 1957, 98). At the end of the procession of these cows comes a lone bull who is called "The Holy Bull, Chief of the Beautiful ones" (Piankoff 1957, 98).

In a hymn from the time of Ramses II, Atum-Harakhty is called $n\underline{t}r$ $\underline{d}sr$ wr §ft - "holy god, great of awe." And Ptah in the Berlin Hymn to Ptah is also called $n\underline{t}r$ $\underline{d}sr$ (Wolf 1929, 17, 1. 1.3) "a holy god." This is an appellation which we might expect to see more often, but it is not that common.

rit dsrt- "sacred image/form" is a rather common epithet. It is applied to Atum (Urk. IV, 1687.12; KRI V, 109.15), Re (KRI III, 366.7) and also royalty (Wb V, 611, D. el B. VI, CLIV). Similar to this is dsr &prw - "of sacred forms." This epithet was applied to Osiris in the Middle Kingdom (RB 110.3) but also in BD 185a. Ptah also receives this title (Wolf 1929, 39). Meanwhile, Khepri is known as nb &prw dsr(w) "lord or possessor of sacred forms" (KRI III, 837.2). The idea of "sacred form/image" is also conveyed by dsrw irw which is applied to Sokar-Osiris (BD 183c, cf. Allen 1974, 202). All three of these testify to the sanctity of a god, especially in his statuary form.

No doubt it was the epithet $\underline{dsr}\ \underline{hprw}$ that was behind the pre-nomen of Horemheb, $\underline{dsr}\ \underline{hprw}\ r^c$ (LR II, 381-398) - "Sacred are the forms of Re." This is an appropriate name for the Son of Re since the son is the very image of his

father. Horemheb's choice of this name was not accidental. Since he was not heir to the throne or even of royal pedigree, he needed to show that he in fact was of divine stock.

Similar to this name is \underline{dsr} k3 r^c ("Sacred is the k3 of Re") the pre-nomen of Amenophis I (\underline{LR} II, 197ff.). In both names we see that the "form" or the k3, two vital parts of a god, are considered sacred. It logically follows that any part or aspect of a god would be considered "sacred."

The deified Amenophis I is known as swht dsrt(KRI III, 239.16-240.1; 269.2, 395.7). On the Sphinx stela Amenophis II is also called swht dsrt, (Hassan 1953, pl. 38, 1. 7-8), "sacred/holy egg" (Lichtheim 1976, 41). The significance of this statement, of course, is that the divine parentage of the king is being recognized. A holy issue also produces something divine. Amun-Re is frequently called dsr- c (Wb V, 610.11; Urk. IV, 880.12). This is commonly thought to mean "Amun-re with upraised arm" (CDME 324). By now it is clear that dsr simply does not mean "raise," "uplifted" etc. When words are compounded with عني it often expresses an action, position, or state (Grammar, 556). There are many examples of this; e.g. st^{-c} = "activity" (Grammar, 556), pr^{-c} = "to be active" (CDME 91) or perhaps "athletic," and tpt^{-c} "former state" (CDME 297). This sacred arm," perhaps it has something to do with Amun-Re's imparting a "sacred blessing," much as a priest's

extending his arm and making the sign of the cross is a way to impart a blessing. Admittedly this title is a puzzling one. There may be some connection between this epithet of Amun-Re and \underline{dsr} rmn, an epithet of Re (\underline{Wb} V, 610.10) that is found a number of times in the Pyramid Texts (cf. pp. 40-41). There it was suggested that \underline{dsr} might be closer to the root meaning than an abstract nuance. Perhaps \underline{dsr} - \underline{c} means "whose arm clears/wards off." This suggestion is attractive in light of the following text from Hatshepsut's Karnak chapel (Lacau & Chevrier 1977, 199):



 \underline{Dsr}^{-C} Amun, Lord of the two great plumes, may you protect the king of Upper and Lower Egypt (Maatkare)...

It is interesting that Amun, called \underline{dsr} -c is called upon to protect the monarch because \underline{hwi} can have the meaning "set aside," "exempt," and comes close to the idea of "holy" (\underline{Wb} III, 244). In the late period there was an order of priests called \underline{hw} - \underline{dsr} (\underline{Wb} III, 245) which illustrates a proximity of meaning.

 $\underline{D}sr^{-c}$ is not only an epithet of Amun-Re, for Horus is called nb $\underline{d}sr^{-c}$ in the chapel of Taharqa by the lake at Karnak (Parker, et. al. 1979, pl. 23).

The epithets reviewed here are a sampling from the New Kingdom (and some from the late period), but these illustrate how widespread the use of $\underline{d}sr$ was in association with both royalty and divinity.

Chapter 4

I. The Late Period.

Our investigation has primarily concerned itself with \underline{dsr} from Dynasty 1 through Dynasty 20 (ca. 3000-1200 B.C.). This long period of history has allowed the word to be studied in sufficient depth to determine the root meaning and semantic development of the word (cf. chapter 1). During the period of the Coffin Texts (chapter 2) it became clear that the word began to be specifically used to mean "sacred space," especially the abode of a god, heavenly or earthly (st \underline{dsrt} where the statue of a god was situated). Texts from the New Kingdom provided more information on the Egyptian view of sacred space in temples and sanctuaries as well as "sacred" as an attribute of divinity and royalty.

The word <u>dsr</u> does not disappear with the Third Intermediate period. An exhaustive study of <u>dsr</u> in this period and the Graeco-Roman period would indeed be beneficial. However, little more could be added to what we have already concluded for the earlier period. A good example of this is found on a stela of the fourth priest of Amun-Re, and prince, Pashedbastet, son of Osorkon I (Jacquet-Gordon 1967, plate XI). The prince recounts his discovery of an old stela in the Abydos necropolis:

Pashedbastet justified, was strolling about on the desert and there he found a stela of the necropolis $(\underline{wd} \ n \ r-s\underline{t3w})$ beside the cliff of Hapetnebes similar to those which are

brought from the necropolis beside ^CAnkh-tawi. He cleared it $(wn.in.f \underline{dsr.s})$ and surrounded it with boundary-stones, presented it with fields...and established for it daily offerings consisting of a divine offering of bread, beer, wine, incense, cool water,...daily for his lord Osiris Khenty-amentyu, lord of Abydos, throughout eternity.

(Jacquet-Gordon 1967, 64)

The stela that the prince found was likely a votive stela belonging to Osiris as the closing statement of this text suggests (Jacquet-Gordon 1967, 64, n. e.). The association with Osiris and the apparent antiquity of the stela led to its revered treatment. Jacquet-Gordon's translation of dsr as "clear" is likely correct. The first step was to clear the stela of the sand and debris that had engulfed it. But that is not all that it meant. The word certainly includes the idea of segregate and sanctify. The prince surrounded it with markers (to segregate it) and provided the offerings. This text nicely illustrates what we have tried to argue throughout this investigation, namely that dsr has both a more literal meaning "clear" (closely related to the root meaning) and a more abstract meaning "to hallow" or "sanctify." This two-fold meaning can be found in a single use of the word, as in the Pashedbastet text, or it can have either meaning as we have seen.

While many uses of \underline{d}_{ST} remain the same during the late period, some important changes are evident. St $\underline{d}_{ST}t$ is replaced by bw \underline{d}_{ST} , meaning "sanctuary" or "holy of holies" (\underline{Wb} I, 45.2; Daumas 1952, 171-172). In Demotic this becomes p3 nty $w^{C}b$ (\underline{Wb} V, 611.6). This in turn survives into

Coptic as neroyals meaning "sanctuary" and "holy of holies" (Daumas 1952, 172). This illustrates that \underline{dsr} during the late period begins to be replaced by w^2b . From the Pyramid Texts onwards we have seen a close relationship between these two words. This shift in the late period suggests that central to the concept of sacred space and sacred objects is ritual purity. This may account for the position of the w^2b -priest in Egyptian religion. He may have been a priest whose primary role was administering the ablutions on offerings, cult objects, and other priests. The w^2b -priest is known in written sources as early as the Second Dynasty (Saad 1957, pl. 29 and 30).

In the text relating to the purification of the deceased Rekhmire (pp. I69-70) it was observed that after the corpse had been purified with water and incense, it was said to be "holy" (dsr). These points confirm that purity from defilement is imperative for something to be considered sacred. Mary Douglas is correct in <u>Purity and Danger</u> (1966, pp. 2ff.) in her assessment that dirt and filth bring disorder. This is certainly true in the realm of the sacred. For the Egyptian, as Kadish (1979, 203-217) has pointed out, disorder, was the ultimate enemy of m3ct. The pious ancient Egyptian would heartily agree with our maxim, "cleanliness is next to godliness."

Despite the shift towards $w^{c}b$ meaning "holy" during the late period, dsr is still found in Demotic texts. The

d has become t which is evident in the writing t3 tsr for t3 dsr (Erichsen 1954, 656). In Demotic t3 tw3t tsrt is "the sacred netherworld," an expression known from the New Kingdom (p. 197). Tsr survives into Coptic as Tacp (Westendorf 1972, 247) with essentially the same meaning as in pharaonic times. Tacp is very limited in its use because Oyaas which means "pure/holy" (Crum 1939, 487-88) replaces it for the most part. That Oyaas means "holy" is clear from its use in the Coptic Old Testament for UTP (Crum 1939, 487-88).

II. The idea of "holy" in the absence of dsr.

The word \underline{d}_{ST} was the Egyptian word that best conveyed the idea of "holy/sacred." But in the literature we find many occasions where the concept occurs without the word \underline{d}_{ST} actually being used. A brief survey of some of these illustrates that the attitude of the Egyptian towards sacred matters is consistent even when the word is not used. This is witnessed in at least three of the areas examined already: the temple, the necropolis, and sacred objects.

A. The temple.

For the phenomenologist (Eliade 1957, 20ff.; Kristensen 1960, 355ff.), a spot becomes sacred when a hierophany takes place. The believer seeks to maintain the sanctity of the spot by protecting it from the profane world. This usually leads to the building of a shrine or structure of some sort and the initiation of a cult to maintain the

sacred spot, where it is believed that the god dwells.

This certainly is the Egyptian view of the origins of sacred sites or temples. The mythic origin of every temple or cult center in Egypt is not known, but enough has survived that a sampling can be made which would support this thesis.

Perhaps the most sacred spot in Egypt was the primeval hill of Heliopolis which is associated with the benben stone where Re first appeared and created the earth (PT \$\$1652, 1437c, 608c; Kees 1956, 217ff.; Kees 1962, 155-56; Kaster 1968, 49). The sanctuary of Atum-Re was built on an artificial mound which was regarded as the hillock (Kees 1961, 155). The benben stone, the cult image associated with the sun, is a replica of the primeval hill, and Kaster (1968, 49) suggests that the name of the hill was "benben." Closely related to this myth is the myth of the Phoenix which came to Heliopolis and rested on the benben stone, further confirming the sanctity of the spot. The root of the word benben (stone) and phoenix is in fact the same (Kees 1961, 156) and means "rise up."

The cult center at Heliopolis is one of the most important in Egyptian religion from the Old Kingdom down through the Graeco-Roman period. The theologians of Heliopolis were apparently responsible for shaping much of the theology within the Pyramid Texts. Nowhere in the fragmentary myths do we read that the spot is dsr.

However we do have the epithet " \underline{p}_{Sr} in Heliopolis" (pp. 54-55) and "holiness which is in the Mansion of the Benben" (p.167). This illustrates beyond doubt that it was the hierophanies that made the spot sacred.

But other cult centers also claimed to be the place of the "first occasion." Nearby Memphis was an early rival. And some scholars believe that the so-called "Memphite Theology" was written to counter the dogma of the theologians of Atum-Re (Morenz 1973, 163-64). According to the "Memphite Theology" Memphis was the place where Ptah created the cosmos and everything within it. The idea of the dry land emerging (i.e. the hillock) as an initial act of creation may be contained in the name of the old god of Memphis t3 tnn which means the "land which rises."

Tatenen is closely associated with Ptah (Kees 1961, 150). Memphis remained as one of Egypt's political capitals from the Old Kingdom down to the Ptolemaic period.

In the Coffin Texts (Spells 79-80 & 127) we find that Hermopolis was the home of the Hermopolitan Ogdoad which was made up of the primeval chaos gods. It would appear from these claims that it too was arguing for even greater antiquity than the northern cities. Therefore Hermopolis is considered a most holy spot and it became the cult center for the worship of Thoth.

These three cult centers all claim to be the place where creation took place. But the city of Thebes, which

by comparison to these other centers is relatively new, also is claimed by the priests of Karnak to be the place of creation in the Leiden "Hymns to Amun" (Gardiner 1905, 21). Moving into the Ptolemaic period even the temple of Horus at Edfu is said to have been built on the primeval mound (Ibrahim 1979, 170). The myth of the origin of the Edfu temple is thought to be one of great antiquity even though it is only preserved from the late period. Apparently earlier sources were used (Reymond 1969, 3-11). It has been demonstrated that New Kingdom religious texts and citations from the Pyramid Texts were employed at Philae in Roman times (Žabkar 1980, 127-136).

The Edfu myth is most interesting and perhaps the best preserved myth that deals with the founding of a temple. The spot where the temple was built became sacred because the falcon alighted on a perch (<u>db3</u>) there (Reymond 1969, 12-16). Horus, the falcon-god, had originally been a god whose cult center had been located in the Delta (Gardiner 1944, 23-60). The Edfu myth records his coming to Upper Egypt in search of a new home. The perch which Horus landed on had been planted by "the distant god" (Ibrahim 1979, 170) on the primeval mound. It seems that we simply cannot get away from the primeval mound as the focal point of the temple. Frankfort (1948a, 152) was of the opinion that the "holy of holies" was located on the hillock. This is why we so frequently encounter the

expression st $\underline{d}srt$ m sp tpy in temple inscriptions (cf. pp. 172ff.). An enclosure was built around the perch and a booth (sh) was erected within the enclosure near the perch (Reymond 1969, 222-24). Reymond (1969, 287) sees a possible connection between the enclosure (inb) around the sacred spot and inb wr (Enclosure of the Eldest) in the Shabaka stone.

From this brief survey the centrality of the primeval hill of creation is essential to the temple being considered a sacred spot. But there may be a secondary hierophany which would serve to confirm the claim to the moment of creation. Examples of the secondary hierophanies would be the Phoenix's landing on the benben stone at Heliopolis or the falcon resting on the perch on the mound of Edfu.

Once a cult center had been established, it was the duty of the priests (hm ntr, "god's servant") to maintain the cult and preserve the sanctity of the spot. The king was ultimately the high priest (Morenz 1969, 50) and he appointed men to the more important priestly offices. From time to time the king found it necessary to make decrees to protect temples or exempt them from certain obligations. Quite a few decrees from the Old Kingdom through the Second Intermediate period have survived (Goedicke 1967; Hayes 1946, 3ff.; Petrie 1896, Pl. VIII) and many of these are from the temple of Min at Coptos. While none of these temple decrees actually mentions dsr,

the concept encompassed by the word is evident. A decree of Pepi II states:

Moreover, My Majesty forbids any agent (wpwty) of any Governor of Upper Egypt (or) any (other) official to go up to the hill of Min-makes-the-foundation-of-Neferkare-to-flourish, except to exempt it (hwt.s) and protect it (mkt.s) for this temple. (Hayes 1946, 8)

There is some question as to Hayes' translation of hwt as "exempt." While hwt can have this meaning (Wb III, 244-45; CDME 186), the juxtaposition of hwt and mkt may be more suggestive of "protect" or "guard" rather than the technical meaning "exempt." Earlier it was noted (p. 139) that these two words frequently occur together (Wb II, 160) and might be a hendiadys. Hayes does recognize that mkt means protect. Hwi means "schutzen" and "heilig" (Wb III, 244). In any event, the meaning "exempt" is clearly derived from the basic meaning "protect."

What is significant about the king's edict is that the temple is off limits to even high ranking officials who are not on official business. Only those who are especially recognized could go in $\binom{c}{k}$ to the temple and then only to carry out the appropriate functions of protecting the temple. A warning is then given to the priests (line 82). If they fail to execute the edict, they would be removed from office.

This was no idle threat. Centuries later, during the Second Intermediate period, an edict of Antef Nebukheperre from Coptos records the expulsion of a priest of Min for inappropriate behavior. In a strongly worded statement,

king Antef says (Petrie 1896, VIII; Les. 98; cf. Figure 23) he has dispatched two of his officials

to make an inspection of the temple of Min inasmuch as the priests of the temple of my father Min came to my Majesty (lph) to say: "an evil matter has come to happen in this temple, (namely) harboring of enemies by, cursed be his name, Teti son of Minhotpe. (lines 4-5)

Unfortunately we are not told who these enemies were. They were certainly an affront to the king and Min. The presence of these enemies may have been seen to have a defiling effect on the temple. For this reason, the priest is expelled from the temple and his office: imi hsf.tw.f m i3t.f. (lines 5-6). His name and all his writings were also to be removed from the sanctuary (line 6). This treatment, we are told, is deserving of one who has "rebelled concerning the enemies of his god" (sbi hr hftyw ntr.f) [line 7]. This statement suggests that the act of harboring enemies in the temple was an act of rebellion against the patron god. The sanctity of the god and his abode were violated, and the culprit had to be punished.

The enemies of the god may be squatters who had taken up residence within the temple complex. This problem is known from the Third Intermediate period. Menkheperre, the First Priest of Amun and son of King Pinedjem of the 21st Dynasty, mentions this problem in a building inscription at Karnak (Barguet 1962, 37-38). He says that he built a great wall at the north of the Karnak complex (line 2). The purpose of this temenos wall was

. . . in order to conceal the temple of his father Amun-[Re, to clea]nse (it) of the people, after he had found it built with houses belonging to Egyptians which remained in the court of the "house of Amun"...The Thebans (?) were escorted out of the gate of the temple of his father Amun.

This information indicates that during the waning years of the 20th Dynasty and earlier in the 21st Dynasty, when there was a breakdown in royal authority, squatters had moved into the temple grounds and taken up residence there. Menkheperre, being the High Priest of Amun, took offense at this and had the squatters removed and a temenos wall erected to keep them from returning and defiling the sanctuary of Amun.

During the excavations of the Akhenaton Temple Project in east Karnak, beginning in 1975, a number of fired bricks were uncovered with the name of Menkheperre, First Priest of Amun, stamped on them (Redford 1977, plate X). The priest appears to have built a villa for himself somewhere to the east of Nectanebo's (eastern) gate. Perhaps by residing there he could better monitor the movement of people in the area and keep out prospective squatters.⁶

The terms used to describe the expulsion of the squatters are interesting. In line 3 the word is partially obliterated (see above), but Barguet (1962, 37, n. 4)

believes that twr is the word which he translates as "débarrasser." The idea of ridding the place of the intruders is clear. The choice of twr may carry with it a more ritual meaning; we have suggested "cleanse," which is close to its fundamental meaning (\underline{Wb} V, 253). In line $5 s^c \underline{y} wt$ is used and it is suggestive of "police escort" (\underline{CDME} 215). The precinct not only had to be cleared of the unwanted residents, but had to be ceremonially cleansed. This is consistent with the practice of Hatshepsut at Cusae after the Hyksos had been in the area and that of Montuemhet mayor of Thebes after the Assyrian sack of Thebes (see above pp. 152-154).

Similar to the Menkheperre inscription is that from the Persian occupation under Cambyses (Posener 1936, 14-15). In the Intef decree when the problem in the temple came to the attention of the king, the expression $spr \ r \ hm.i$ is used (Petrie 1896, VIII, 1.3). The same expression is used by the official who reported an impropriety at the temple of Neith to Cambyses (Posener 1936, 14. 1. 17-18). The report states:

I reported in the presence of the majesty of (Cambyses) ...concerning all the foreigners that were squatting in this temple of Neith in order to drive them from there, in order to cause that the temple of Neith be in all its glory as it had previously been.

Cambyses acts on this request, making a proclamation:

His majesty commanded the driving out of all the foreigners [who] were squatting in the temple of Neith, the demolition of their houses and all their damage that was in this temple. They carried out [all their things]⁷ themselves to the gate of the wall of the temple.

Just as we observed with the Hatshepsut text at Speos Artimedos and the Montuemhet inscriptions, foreigners were regarded as being especially defiling to "sacred space." This is also true within Israelite religion (Deuteronomy 23:3-8; I Mac. 4:36-43). Eliade (1956, 29) points out that foreigners, like demons and ghosts, are regarded as being chaotic and therefore a threat to cosmic order. This notion agrees well with Egyptian religious thought.

The identity of the foreigners is never disclosed.

Posener (1936, 16, N. e.) discounts earlier suggestions
that they were Greek mercenaries from the time of Amasis.

However, soldiers are known to have occupied temple precincts elsewhere during the late period (Daressy 1919, 145).

With the temple area now cleared of the foreigners and their personal effects, the king orders that the temple be purified $(sw^{c}b$, line 21), that priests be assigned to their duties (line 22) and that the offerings be resumed (line 22). This description explicitly outlines the process of cleansing a temple which Hatshepsut described as sdsr

(cf. p. 152). The defiling forces had to be removed and the place ceremonially cleansed and the cult re-established for the sanctuary to be considered "consecrated" for ministering to the deity.

One cannot help but entertain the suspicion that the guilty priest that Intef excommunicated may have allowed squatters into the precinct of Min at Coptos. Squatters in the temple would certainly be regarded as profaning the sanctity of the temple. In the texts under consideration here there may be two senses of defilement. In the Menkheperre text the squatters are clearly native Egyptians (rmt n p3 t3), while in the Cambyses edict the intruders are foreigners (\$\int_{\infty} 3styw\), just as in the Hatshepsut text and the Montuemhet text. The foreign element would desecrate the place (which would be abominable) while the native squatter would render the area common or profane. There is a thin line of distinction between the two, but in the Egyptian conception, the former would be considered the ultimate defilement.

Not only the presence of foreigners and unofficial residents could defile a temple. Time and neglect could cause a building to become filled with debris which would have a similar effect. This is reflected in a building inscription of Thutmose III prior to his building Akh-Menu at Karnak:

(Barguet 1962, 33)

Now my Majesty found a mud-brick enclosure wall to con[ceal]. [My Majesty commanded] that its soil be removed in order to widen this temple. I purified it, its evil was cleared, the rubble which was on its two sides which led up [to] the sanctuary was removed that I might pound this place which was under the enclosure in order to build this monument on it, in order that this temple might be purified for his father [Amun in] Karnak. I made (it) anew.

This graphically describes the removal of dirt, debris and evil $(\underline{d}w)$ from the area so that it could be purified for the new temple structure. The mention of evil is noteworthy since it suggests that the rubble had a desecratory affect on the precinct. The use of psr to describe this "clearing" is interesting, because psr and psr are synonymous and may originally have been the same word (cf. p. 66). Here too the idea of segregating and consecrating $(\underline{d}sr)$ is very evident.

Egyptian temples, shrines and other structures in which a deity resided were considered sacred. Not only could the place be profaned and desecrated by improper intrusions into the sacred space, but improper conduct by a worshipper could be offensive to the patron deity. Amenemope brings out this point in Chapter 4 when the "heated man" (§mm), the "passionate" man (Posener 1973, 129), in the

temple is likened to a tree growing indoors that is of no enduring value and will only end up being burned in a fire. The "truly silent" man, or wise man, was a tree that would produce fruit and be beneficial to all. The contrast points out that the one who does not act properly in the temple, the abode of the god, would accordingly be judged or rewarded for his behavior. In Chapter 5, Amenemope continues with the exhortation not to falsify temple rations or do anything that would lead to personal gain through the temple. He also warns against removing priests from their duty. So important was the sanctity of the temple that even the wisdom literature, which is not primarily concerned with religious matters, does speak out against improper conduct in the temple.

B. The Necropolis.

Ample discussion has already been devoted to the sanctity of the necropolis and how grave-goods, the mummy and priests had to be pure in order to enter the necropolis. Here we might recall the warnings from Old Kingdom tombs against impurity (^{c}bw) entering the tomb (cf. pp. 17-18). Archaeologically there are numerous examples of mortuary temples and tombs being usurped and building materials being reused. No better example of this can be cited than the mortuary temples of the 18th Dynasty rulers (save Hatshepsut) whose blocks were nearly all removed for later building projects. It would appear that for the most part

the warnings went unheeded and despite efforts to stop the pilfering of tombs (cf. Abbott Papyrus, Peet 1930) these illegal acts continued. In all of Egyptian literature (apart from the trial recorded in Papyrus Abbott) we have only one confession concerning the desecration of the necropolis. This comes from the "Wisdom of Merikare" (Volten 1945, lines 67ff.). The only reason we have this confession is that the king believed he was judged because of the deeds for which he was responsible. He said,

Troops will fight troops as the ancestors foretold; Egypt fought in the graveyard $(\underline{m}t-n\underline{t}\underline{v})$, destroying tombs in vengeful destruction $(\overline{^c}\underline{d})$. As I did it, so it happened, as is done to one who strays from god's path. Do not deal evilly (bin) with the Southland, you know what the residence foretold about it...I attacked This ... I engulfed it like a flood.

(Lichtheim 1973, 102)

Nearly 40 lines later, he returns to this subject and expands on it.

Lo, a shameful deed occurred in my time: ... Though it happened through my doing, I learned it after it was done. There was retribution $(\underline{d3r})$ for what I had done, for it is evil (\underline{hs}) to destroy (\underline{hd}) , useless to restore what one has damaged, to rebuild what one has demolished.

(Lichtheim 1973, 105)

The king seems to be saying that his troops, while fighting in This (at the king's orders) had violated the necropolis area, destroying tombs in the process. The implication is that while the Heracleopolitan king did not specifically order his troops to fight in the necropolis area, he had to take responsibility for their actions. The con-

fession recognizes that the act of violating tombs was evil (bin, line 71) and vile ($\underline{h}s$, line 121) and that some sort of divine retribution ($\underline{d}3r$, line 121) was in order. The section is closed by stating that restoration would simply not right the wrong. ⁸

From the king's bitter experience (he never discloses what the retribution was), he passes on to Merikare two admonitions:

Do not despoil the monument of another, but quarry stone in Tura. Do not build your tomb out of ruins, (using) what had been made for what is to be made. (lines 78-79).

(Lichtheim 1973, 102-03)

His second statement deals with divine judgement:

God will attack (tkk) the rebel (sbi) for the sake of the temple, he will be overcome for what he has done. (line 110)

(Lichtheim 1973, 105)

Whatever this king experienced, he certainly had renewed faith in the religious traditions regarding the sanctity of the necropolis after his troops had desecrated Abydos. Anubis, Lord of the necropolis, avenged the desecration of his domain.

C. Sacred objects.

We have already encountered a host of objects considered sacred to the Egyptians. Among these cult objects are lakes, mountains, offerings, gates and crowns. Of particular interest to us is the sacred mountain in Egyptian religious thought (pp.194ff.). From the end of the 11th

Dynasty come three Wadi Hammamat inscriptions which speak of a quarrying expedition which had been sent to that area to procure a sarcophagus and lid for Montuhotpe Nebtawyre by his vizier Amenemhet (Amenemhet Sehetepibre <u>futurus</u>) (Couyat & Montet, 1912, 97-100; <u>RB</u> 75). The king commands that "a stela be set up for his father Min, lord of the highlands (\$\int_{3swt}\$), at this august mountain" (<u>RB</u> 74.3-4). The mountain of Min is then lauded:

Primordial, first-ranking, in the land of horizon-dwellers, god's palace endowed with life, divine nest of Horus in which this god flourishes, his pure place of heart's content, set above the deserts of the god's land.

(Lichtheim 1973, 114)

The mountain is associated with Min and primeval time (p3wty), and therefore would be considered sacred, but described as "august" $(\mbeta pss)$ and 'pure' $(\mbeta^c b)$. It appears that it was desirable to quarry stone for the necropolis from a sacred source. The reason for the expedition is stated (lines 14-15) as follows:

(RB 75, 2-3)

to bring for (me) an august block of pure, costly stone which is in this mountain whose excellence Min made.

The pure and august quality of the stone is attributed to Min. His presence in the mountain made the very stone within it sacred. As if to confirm this belief, the texts which follow tell of two wonders or miracles (bi3t) which

took place. The first one (RB 76-77) recounts how the men were contemplating where to quarry for the sarcophagus when a pregnant gazelle approached, with her head facing forward and her eyes looking straight ahead (\$3\$3). The implication is that the gazelle, an extremely shy animal, was being divinely directed to pass right by the men of the expedition, to the spot where the lid of the sarcophagus would be found. This is certainly how this act was interpreted, for the gazelle delivered on the spot which the men later quarried. The gazelle was then sacrificed, given back to Min.

This divinely sent gazelle was regarded as an epiphany of Min. The stone was considered pure and sacred because it came from Min Mountain and because of this miracle (bi3t) which occurred. The gazelle, in Frankfort's words (1948b, 9) represents "a strange link between divinity and actual beast." He believes (1948b, 12-13) that in animals the Egyptians saw an "otherness" and therefore something "superhuman."

Eight days later there was a second wonder (RB 78-79):

...rain was made, the forms of this god were seen, his power was given to the people, the highland was turned into a lake.

This resulted in the filling of an old well with water,

which was kept pure (sw^cb) , clean (stwr) and concealed (sst3) from animals and area tribesmen. Rain in Middle and Upper Egypt is not a common occurrence. Although when a cloud-burst strikes the area around the eastern hills, flash-flooding does occur. This could well appear to be a kratophany, a manifestation of power (b3w) to the observers. The downpour was regarded as "the forms of the god" (i.e. Min), again endowing the expedition with his blessings and much needed water.

As the blocks are taken back to the Nile valley a ceremony takes place where animals are sacrificed and incense burnt (RB 75, 7-9). There may be a connection here with the idea of dsr w3t. The blocks were sacred and pure because they had come from Min-Mountain and there had been two miraculous signs guaranteeing divine appointment of the blocks. Therefore the sanctity of the stone needed to be protected en route to t3 dsr. It might be recalled that in the famous scene from the tomb of Djhuty-hotpe (Newberry, El Bersheh I, XII), when his statue is being dragged from the quarry, it was being censed and water was being poured on the road before the sledge. censing has unmistakable religious significance. pouring of the water may be regarded as having a more practical concern, namely as a lubricant to lessen friction. However, the ever pragmatic, and at the same time, magically and religiously oriented Egyptian, may have regarded

this pouring of liquid as accomplishing two objectives: purifying the way and lubricating it. There can be no doubt that maintaining the purity of the stone as it was being moved from Hatnub to its final destination was imperative. This stone too is said to have come from "the great mountain" $(\frac{dw}{d})$.

Occasionally in New Kingdom texts, stone for statues is called , which looks like at dest (Urk. IV, 535.15 and 913.2). The writing of is peculiar. It does look like the property sign, but does not have any of the phonetic complements that usually accompany that sign. The meaning attached to dest seems to fit the context when we bear in mind that statues were the dwelling place of the k3 of humans and the physical presence of gods. The Hammamat texts require us to understand that stone for statues, coffins, etc. was considered sacred. Therefore the reading at dest is certainly a possibility and no better interpretation presents itself.

In a most interesting biographical passage in the tomb of Re-wer at Giza from the 5th Dynasty, there is recorded the story of how Re-wer was struck by King Neferirkare's 3ms-mace. This text was first published by Selim Hassan (1932, 18-19) and subsequently included in <u>Urkunden</u> I (232.5ff.). More recently this story has been discussed by Wilson (1946, 75) and Ali Hassan (1976, 179-80). Selim Hassan's translation of this passage

(1932, 18-19) is very poor indeed, therefore we offer the following version (see Figure 24 for S. Hassan's copy of the text):

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt Neferirkare was crowned as king of Lower Egypt on the day of taking the bow-warp of the divine bark. 2) Now the Sem-priest Re-wer was beside His Majesty in his status 3) of Sem-priest ... The 3ms-mace 4) which was in His Majesty's hand bumped against the leg of the Sem-priest Re-wer. His Majesty said to him, 5) "May you be sound!" So His Majesty said. Now His Majesty had said, "His being in very good health is desired by [My Majesty]." 6) He did not strike (him or it, i.e. the leg). Now he is more prec[ious] 7) to His Majesty than any one. His Majesty ordered the placing [of it] in [writing] 8) on his tomb which is in the necropolis. His Majesty had 9) a record which is in writing [made for him] in the presence of the king himself...

The impression made by this account is that the priest was accidentally struck by the king's 3ms-mace (perhaps as he was disembarking from the boat). Understanding the king's response to this event is critical in realizing the serious implications of what had happened. Neferirkare says, "May you be sound (or healthy)!" With the old perfective used as an exhortation. Then in line 6, he exclaims that he did not (intentionally) strike his loyal priest. The ny skr.n.f is understood to be n sdm.n.f (Edel 1955/1964, SS15, 18, 18, 1092-99). Selim Hassan's (1932, 19) translation of this ("no beating has been done to him") is quite wrong.

Wilson (1946, 75), followed by Ali Hassan (1976, 179-80), thought that the mace accidentally fell from the king's hand and contacted Re-wer's leg. The king expressed his concern for his official because contact of the royal

3ms with a mortal would lead to some ill fate befalling the man. Concerning this, Wilson (1946, 75) said:

The divine person of the pharaoh was too holy for direct approach. An ordinary mortal did not speak "to" the king; he spoke "in the presence of" the king.

From this idea of avoiding "verbal contact" with the monarch, Wilson wonders if "physical contact" was not closely related. He then discussed the Re-wer text, suggesting that the king was trying to assure Re-wer that he would not suffer for what had just happened.

For the purpose of this investigation, the main point of the story is that it was apparently thought that should a mortal touch the king or any part of his regalia, he would likely be struck down for contacting something sacred. This is analogous to Uzzah in the Old Testament who was struck dead for touching the ark of the covenant (I Sam. 6:6-7) even though his intentions were honorable. The ark was a representation of the throne of Yahweh, which only the levitical priests could carry (Num. 3:27-31). Commenting on the death of Uzzah, Kristensen (1960, 357) said:

... Uzzah touched the ark of Yahweh and died immediately. He was not authorized to do so, and only those initiated, like the priests, may walk in sacred places and touch sacred objects. ... "holy" places do not belong to the finite world, but to the infinite, divine world. Whoever stays there unauthorized and unitiated(sic!) dies. This is not a "punishment," but simply a necessary consequence of the act.

This appears to be the logic behind the incident in the life of Re-wer. It was tabu for mortals to touch sacred objects unless they were initiated. Neferirkare's reaction certainly supports such an interpretation. The reason for Re-wer's surviving this experience was because he was especially loved by the king, and because the king did not intend harm to come to Re-wer. For this reason he expressed the wish that he remain healthy which would have had the effect of magically negating the destructive capacity of the mace.

III. Recapitulation.

The "sacred" or "holy" has a central place in Egyptian religion. By association with divinity or through a hierophany, a place or object could become "holy." As historians of religion have come to understand this concept in various religious traditions, it has become clear that "the sacred" is das ganz andere, the wholly other, segregated from the profane world with its defiling forces. The Egyptian word dsr, known in the writing for over 3000 years, is the word that best conveys this idea. Our study of its root meaning and semantic development have amply demonstrated this.

This investigation should assist future studies in ancient Egyptian religion. $\underline{\textit{Dsr}}$, and all that this word communicates, is so widely used in mortuary and temple literature, that a proper understanding of it is essential for appreciating the function and operation of Egyptian worship, rites, and rituals.

Siegfried Morenz (1973, 81) has said:

The Egyptians perceived God as an active force - commanding, guiding, inspiring and ordaining man's destiny. Active, or passive, man felt its power, and naturally he reacted in accord with it.

The following story is told of a lady tourist who visited the temple of Ptah at Karnak. Upon entering the chamber which housed a statue of Sakhmet, she beheld the statue as a ray of sun shone through the ceiling window and struck the face of the lioness. The woman shrieked, prostrating herself and cried, "I believe," "I believe!"

To study the term used by the Egyptians that described this "active force" is one way to begin to understand their view of the sacred and how they responded to it.

Footnotes

Chapter 1

- My thanks to Dr. H.G. Fischer for his helpful suggestions and for sending me several offprints of his articles on the subject.
- 2. Dr. N.B. Millet made this suggestion to me and encouraged me to investigate this possibility. I thank him for this, but here I assume responsibilities for conclusions reached.
- 3. My thanks to Professor Carleton T. Hodge for corresponding with me on this matter. Likewise my thanks to Professors K.A. Kitchen and Gary Rendsburg for discussing this linguistic problem with me.

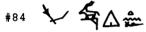
It is worth noting that there are cases where Egyptian d corresponds to Semitic A. Consider the following:

md3t (Wb II, 187, "scroll" = מגלה BDB 166, "scroll")

d3d3 (Wb V, 530, "head" גלגלת BDB 166, "skull")

sd3(w)t (Wb IV, 379, "seal" = סגלה BDB 688, "property")

The translation of texts #84 and #88 is problematic.



Unlike the text mentioned above, this is not a name. It appears to a record fo the donation from the Oryx nome(?). Dsr in #88 appears to be a measure (Lauer 1965, 47). That text reads 1965, 47). That text reads 1965, 47) The text reads 1965, 47) The sign as a measure is four hands or 300mm according to Reineke (1963, 160). But such a measure one would not expect to be used of a liquid or dry measure, which would have applied to the contents of the vases.

5. Here we must disagree with A. Nibbi's contention that $w3\underline{d}$ wr is to be found in the Delta:

The Sea Peoples: A Re-examination (1972) The Sea Peoples and Egypt (1975), chpaters 4 & 5 GM 10 (1974), 35 GM 17 (1975), 39-44 JEA 61 (1975), 41-42

JEA 62 (1976), 47-56

Contra Nibbi see:

- Kitchen, A Review of The Sea Peoples and Egypt, JEA 64 (1978), 161-171.

 Abdel Monem A.H. Sayed, "Discovery of the Site of the 12th Dynasty Port at Wadi Gawasis on the Red Sea Shore," R d'E 29 (1977), 140-178.

 Idem. "The Recently Discovered Port on the Red Sea Shore," JEA 64 (1978), 67-71.
- S.N. Kramer, <u>The Sumerians</u>, (Chicago: University Press, 1963), p. 145.
 - H. Ringgren, Religions of the Ancient Near East, (Londom: SPCK, 1973). p. 6.

 T. Jacobsen, The Treasures of Darkness, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), pp. 98-99, 168-69.
- 7. Boreux (1925, 443-44, N. 1) claims that there are such examples in Lacau's Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire, II, P. 158, 170, and 171. Having followed up this reference, I have not been able to identify what Boreux was citing. Nor have I been able to find an example of such a staff being used in any navigational scene for the Middle Kingdom.
- 8. The translation "exalted" or "Erhabene", while making sense does not appear to fit into the semantic range of dsr (cf. p. 58). If the idea of the king being "exalted" was the intended meaning it might be expected that k3i or sk3i would have been used. Another possibility is some form of tsw/ts/wts could convey this meaning and would have had the added benefit of providing the text with a word-play on tss at the end of the line.
- 9. If this is a <u>Hörfehler</u> for <u>dsrw</u> in the Shabaka stone, perhaps it is due the transcribing of the text by the 25th Dynasty scribes who were recording from recitation. <u>Dsrw</u> in the late period was pronounced <u>dsrw</u> or <u>tsrw</u> (Erichsen 1954, 656).
- 10. It might be thought that the writing of in 2012c should be read hote, as Faulkner has done (1969, 290). In 2012b the writing R appears. This is read as shntr by Faulkner (1969, 290). But this sign (I) is not the usual sign for sh in the Pyramid Texts. It is usually written of (Moffmeier 1981, 173-74). In 2012b the preceding hote hote the meaning shntr for I. The shntr is the structure where the royal dead were purified (Brovarski 1977, 107-115; Donuhue 1978, 145, N. 2; Hoffmeier 1981, 167-77). Since Anubis (who presides over the shntr) has ordered the purification of the king, it follows that shntr is what should be read.

If ch $n\underline{t}r$ is to be read, it is the only example known to the writer of such a structure in the context of the king's purification. It should be recalled that the 1 in 2012c looks very much like the sh of Anubis, complete with the $\underline{h}kr$ frieze, which is commonly illustrated in this fashion in the art (Davies 1943, pl. 86). Therefore, the writing appears to be yet another variant writing for sh ntr.

Ogden Goelet discussed the meaning of ch in a paper entitled "Ceremonial and Religious Features of the ch" (cf. ARCE Annual Meeting Abstracts p. 22) presented at ARCE's annual meeting in Ann Arbor, Michigan (April 23, 1983). He feels that should be read ntry, not ch ntr and that it was some sort of shrine. He may be right in suggesting that it is a shrine, but the proper reading remains uncertain. In PT \$2012c, whether is read sh ntr, ch ntr (ntry), Anubis is found within the structure administering the purification rites.

In CT I, 223f (cf. p. 73) the ch of Anubis is mentioned: inpw m-hnw ch f wnt f nt sh nt r - "Anubis is within his ch in his priestly service of the sh nt r." Here the ch may be related to $mathbb{n}$ in PT 2012c. In both passages Anubis and sh nt are mentioned. The ch in CT I, 223f may refer to the mortuary temple itself, within which the sh nt would have been located. In $mathbb{Urk}$. IV, 1483.8 ch is likely the mortuary temple of Montuhotpe Nebhepetre.

We have argued here that \triangle in PT §2010c is a variant writing for sh $n\underline{t}r$. However, if \triangle is to be read as ch $n\underline{t}r$ it should be understood to mean "morturary temple" as suggested by CT I, 223f and \underline{U} rk IV, 1483.8. Both interpretations make sense in the context of the purification of the dead king.

11. Here we concur with Faulkner's emendation (p. 290, N. 8) that a k should be added. It appears that the two-fold use of k of $n\underline{t}r.k$ r.k immediately preceding rmn.n might account for the scribal omission.

Chapter 2.

- 1. One wonders on what basis Faulkner renders as "Chaos-Gods." Hh of course means "millions(s)" (Wb. III, 152-153). This word is associated with the primeval gods in PT \$1390. The anthropomorphic figure with hands upraised was one of the eight gods who held up the sky (Kees 1956, 312).
- For a discussion of the problem of the meaning of this word, see note 10 of chapter 1.
- 3. The form is quite clearly $s\underline{d}m.n.f$; just why Faulkner translates it by the present tense is not clear. This holds true for m33.n.f.
- 4. The word is clearly $n\underline{d}r$. The n is apparently omitted due to homoioteleuton.
- 5. Dsr.ti is written twice. Faulkner renders it only once.
- 6. PT 71a-b was not considered in the previous chapter because of its ambiguity. It was thought best to consider it concurrently with the Coffin Text passage.
- I would like to thank Dr. Bierbrier for responding to my inquiry so quickly and allowing me to quote his reading of the text.
- 8. There is some question as to whether or not hnt means archive.

 enhalten ist" (Wb III, 306) in the New Kingdom. Meanwhile in the Middle Kingdom the title is known (Wb III, 307.14).

Chapter 3.

 An interesting text which might be alluding to a ritual of Anubis is found in a biographical text which says:

(Legrain 1914, 73 c)

I entered (into the service) of the god because of being a skilled youth. I was introduced to the horizon of heaven. I hallowed Anubis for Him-that-is-in-Wese. I satisfied him with his food offerings.

This may mean that the ritual of $\underline{d}sr$ included the offerings of the god.

- <u>Dsr dsrw</u> is a variation of the name of Hapshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri (<u>D. el B.</u> I, 5; Hayes 1960, 30 & pl. IXa).
- 3. Also from the 25th Dynasty there is a building inscription of Taharqa from Medinet Habu which speaks of consecrating a a temple called "Sacred Place." See J. Leclant, Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV^e Dynastie dite éthiopienne, (Cairo: IFAO, 1965) p. 347.

MATTERNE 10 A BUTY

Now his Majesty found (it) in ruins. Going and coming in the holy place on its north side. He consecrated $st\ dsrt$.

St $\underline{d}srt$ is the name of the small temple at Medinet Habu (See Leclant's note 2 on p. 347). This is supported by the writing st $\underline{d}srt$ since it is replaced in the late period by bw $\underline{d}sr$ as seen in this text. The fact that st $\underline{d}srt$ is written shows that it was the name or a case of archaizing. The latter is unlikely since bw $\underline{d}sr$ is written in the same line.

- 4. Professor Redford has pointed out to me that mi ntt r ... is a phrase that frequently introduces the name of a sacred book. In this case, "in accordance with what is in (the book called) 'Purification of Temples/////'." This is certainly an attractive suggestion for this would mean that the consecrating of the desecrated temples followed prescribed formulae that had been recorded for such purposes.
- 5. μ ci-mnw is perhaps the name of Ahmose's mortuary temple.
- 6. 3ht in some contexts (e.g. Sinuhe R. 6, B. 36; CDME 5) can mean tomb. It is also associated with the 'holy of holies'

(Bjorkman 1971, 67). 3bt is also applied to the temple as the earthly horizon in which the gods dwell, just as they do in the heavenly 3bt. This may be what the <u>Urk IV</u>, 834.1-2 reference means.

- 7. Mswt might simply mean birth. Hence, Nun "consecrated his birth."
- 8. In Piankhy's conquest of Egypt he mentions his pilgrimage to the Mansion of the Benben at Heliopolis:

温泉が成功学に非信量 を全島7日台山かり (Grimal 1971, 133.4-9)

((He) ascended the staircase of the great shrine to see Re in the Mansion of the Benben.) The king himself stood alone, breaking the bolt, opening the doors and seeing his father Re in the sacred Mansion of the Benben.

Many more references of this usage, and variations, could be cited.

~何到仍無日号部口。3日一天下到

(Erichsen 1933, I, 47.2)

I purified Memphis, your holy place.

In the Litany of Re the resurrected king is called

great of holiness in the places of the realm of the dead.

(Hornung 1975, 221)

great of holiness within the Netherworld.

So just as a god is $\underline{d}sr$ in his temple, so the resurrected, divine king is $\underline{d}sr$ in the next world.

- 10. Wente (1972, 139, N. 10) feels that the n.i in order to be consistent ought to be emended to n.k throughout this section.
- 11. This could be read either as twr or wrt since the t of wrt frequently is written over the bird, as we have it here. Determining which word was intended is not always a simple task. Since the antecedent hwt $^{c}3t$ is feminine, wrt might be preferable. However in this sequence of statements

about the temples and shrines of Abydos (KRI I, 130, 131, 165 and 201) we find that these structures are qualified by such terms as \underline{dsrt} , mnht, w^cb (no t), c3t \underline{dsrt} , and the like. Therefore the reading of twr cannot be ruled out.

- 12. Such statements are frequently found on statuary of New Kingdom priests. One such text (Legrain 1914, 31) recounts how the man saw the holiness of the temple (m3 dsr ch) and (m3 dsr hwt ... n pr imn Legrain 1914, 34 c,2-3). He continues by saying iw ck.n.i knh m dsr.s (34 d,10) "I entered into the darkness of its holiness." The mention of darkness is interesting, and no doubt describes the inaccessibility of the sacred spot. This notion is found in I Kings 12:8 where Yahweh is said to live in "darkness."
- 13. The recently published chapel if Hatsheptsut at Karnak contains another example of this (Lacau & Chevrier 1977, 99) but it does not provide us with additional information on this expression. The publishers understood the expression to mean "dans les splendeur son palais" (Lacau & Chevrier 1977, 104 N. w).
- 14. Expressions of this type continue with frequency down into the Third Intermediate Period. Quite a few examples can be cited from the 22nd Dynasty. Some apply to the palace while others refer to the temple.

重型以外のでは

(Legrain 1914, 29)

(the priest of Amun) ... who knows the secrets in the palace, who sees the holy (place) of the palace.

Similiar to this see Legrain 1914, 31, 34, 35 & 58 which which is especially noteworthy for the courtier records his seeing the birth of Horus in the "holiness of the palace (ch m $^dsr.s$).

15. #nt occurs in the Luxor temple pylon of Ramses II describing the founding of that temple when the sun's rays alighted on the place that was to become Luxor temple. (see M. Abd El-Razik 1974, \$1, line 3)

PHACESES OF OR THIS FOR

(Then His Majesty researched (in) the archives, and he opened the writings of the House of Life. He thus knew the secrets of heaven and all mysteries of earth.) He found Thebes, the Eye of Re^{C} ...ed as kings; he illuminated heaven, he shone (psd) upon the (Solar) circuit, seeing the place where he might allow the ray(s) of his Eye to alight...

(M. Abd El-Razik 1975, 125-26)

16. Such boasts are frequently found on statues of priests. E.g. Legrain 1914, 57 q,6: wstn.twr dsrw hwt c3 bs.tw hr ntr.k - "One traveled freely to the temple, one was introduced to your god."

For similar examples see note 12.

17. The ct spst appears to be a reference to some chamber within the temple (Wb I, 160.7). The expression ct dsrt is recorded in the "Dispute" (1. 27). Goedicke (1970, 106-107) follows Scharff's suggestion that this chamber is related to the embalming of the deceased, and so renders it "Holy Chamber." However, Faulkner (1956, 32 n.23) while translating in the same manner argues that ct dsrt is a reference to the celestial judgement hall where the deceased man whould have to appear. Goedicke's solution may be on the right track since the deceased is appealing to Isdes who is associated with embalming the dead (Wb I, 134; Goedicke 1970, 107).

In the Litany of Re, the sun god is praised while his forms (hprw) are in ct $\underline{d}srt$ (Hornung 1975, 37). In this context, the chamber in question appears to be in the Netherworld.

Chapter 4.

1. An interesting problem connected with <u>dsr</u> is that in the bilingual inscriptions from the Ptolemaic period (i.e. the Canopus decree and Rosetta Stone) where <u>dsr</u> is used, αγιος, which might be expected, does not appear. In Canopus 37 <u>dsr</u> is rendered by τιμῶντες; in Canopus 27 <u>dsr</u> = μεγα-λοπρεπῶς; in Rosetta Stone 32 <u>dsr</u> = ἐνδοξως. These Greek meanings, "to honor," "to magnify," "glorify," and the like, appear to be a problem for the thesis advanced in this study, namely, that <u>dsr</u> should not be understood in aesthetic terms. First of all, the understanding in the Hellenistic period should not dictate the meaning for the early history of the word. In dealing with a word over a period of 3000 years, it might be expected that other nuances might be attached to the word (especially in the later phases). In this case it might be, as we have already noted, because in the Demotic and Coptic periods ογλλε began to replace <u>dsr</u>. This probably accounts for the new meanings given to <u>dsr</u> during Ptolemaic times.

There may be an example in Diodorus where <u>asr</u> is rendered tepax. Diodorus (I, 59) tells the story about an Egyptian king Pheron (Pheros in Herodotus I, 111) the son of Sesostris. Pheron was rendered blind after angrily throwing a spear at the surging flood waters of the Nile. After ten years of blindness, an oracle from Buto proclaimed that the king could regain his sight if he washed his eyes in the urine of a woman who had only had intercourse with

her husband. Finally after many women had failed to produce the antidote, one succeeded. The other women were rounded up and taken to a certain city, which was burnt, killing the women. From this massacre the spot was called $\{\epsilon_{\rho} \delta v \mid B \hat{\omega} \lambda \omega v \mid \text{holy soil.} \mid \text{Meanwhile, Herodotus (I, 111)} \}$ called the spot $\{\epsilon_{\rho} v \geqslant \rho\} B \hat{\omega} \lambda c v \mid \text{meanwhile, Herodotus (I, 111)} \}$ called the spot $\{\epsilon_{\rho} v \geqslant \rho\} B \hat{\omega} \lambda c v \mid \text{meanwhile, Herodotus (I, 111)} \}$ word for red would have been $d \in P v \mid \text{meanwhile} v \mid \text{mea$

is apparently connected to the necropolis.

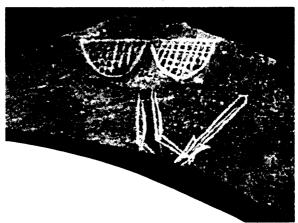
The tale of king Pheron does illustrate that <u>dsr</u> could be rendered by a Greek word meaning "holy" or "sacred" even thought the later bilingual texts do not.

- 2. The idea of Thebes being the focal point of creation is expressed in different terms in Ramses II's inscriptions on the pylon of Luxor temple (cf. note 15 of chapter 3 for text and translation.
- 3. The expression w3 n rn.f means something like "cursed be the name." The writing of \mathbf{r} is a bit odd, but it clearly is a writing for \mathbf{r} .
- I am indebted to Professor Redford for passing these references on to me.
- 5. Barguet (1962, 37, N. 5) restores this as
- 6. As a member of the 1975 excavation team, I recall discussing this with Professor Redford. With the increased number of these bricks turning up from all over the excavated area of east Karnak, Redford now thinks that these bricks might have originally come from Menkheperre's wall. Unfortunately, even through the 1982 season, none of these bricks have been found in situ. They are all reused and found in later loci. One question that arises from this suggestion is whether there are any temenos walls made of fired brick. No examples come to mind. At the same time, no example of fired brick houses from this period are known to me.
- 7. Posener (1936, 15, N.6-b) suggests ? as the likely reconstruction of the lacuna.
 - 8. In this section of Merikare, the king tells his son that it is useless to restore what has been damaged, "to rebuild or restore (smnh) what has been defaced" $(s^{c}s^{c})$. In Papyrus Carlsburg 6, which preserves this section, sdsr replaces smnh (Helck 1977, 75). This version is

dated to the 18th Dynasty and accounts for this writing, because the causative form is commonly used in such texts in the New Kingdom. It is interesting that $s\underline{d}sr$ should appear as a variant writing since we have been arguing that this passage is referring to the desecration of the sacred necropolis.

9. Years ago when visitng el-Amarna, we were told by the villagers that there had recently been such a storm in the eastern mountains which led to a massive wave of water rushing down the mountain into the valley. The muddy water mark on the wall of the rest house approached six feet in height. If the rain in the area of Hammamat as witnessed by Amenemhet and his expedition was anything like the power unleashed in the storm we evidenced at el-Amarna, it would indeed have been an awesome spectacle.

(Figure 1)



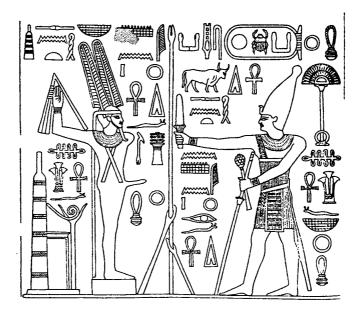
(Figure 2)



(Figure 3)

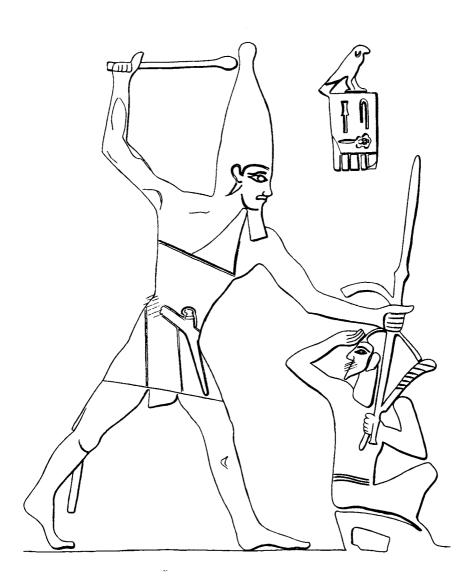


(Figure 4)

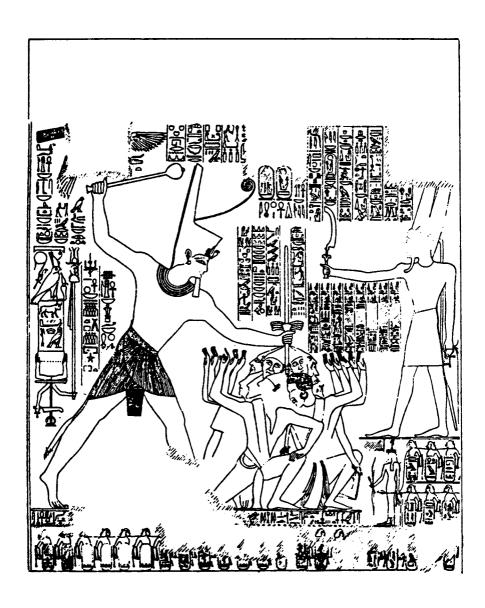


(Fischer 1977, figure 99)

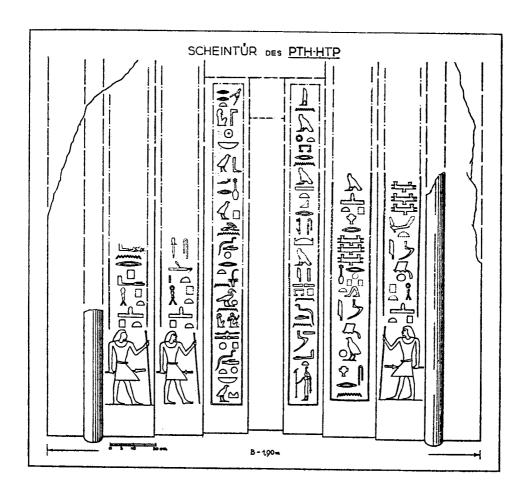
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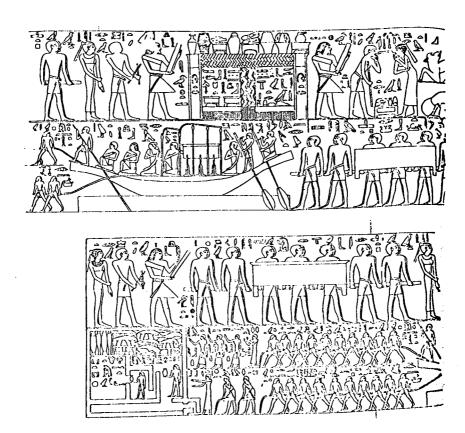
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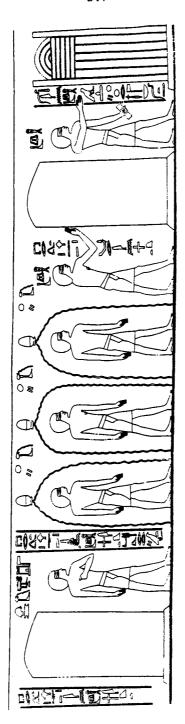


(Figure 7)



(Figure 8)

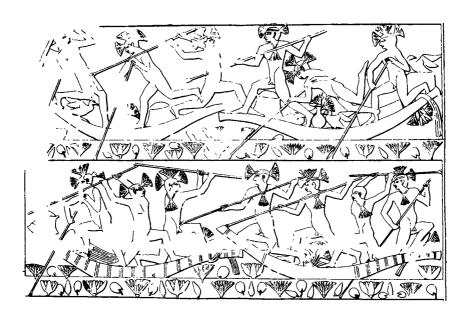




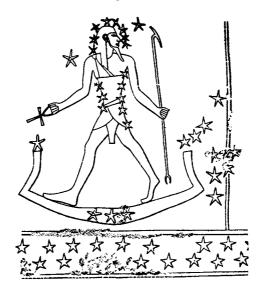
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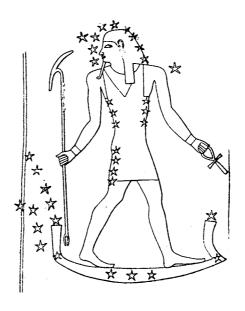
(Figure 11)



(Figure 12)



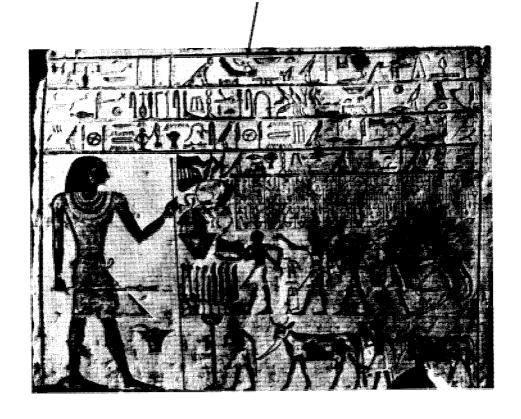
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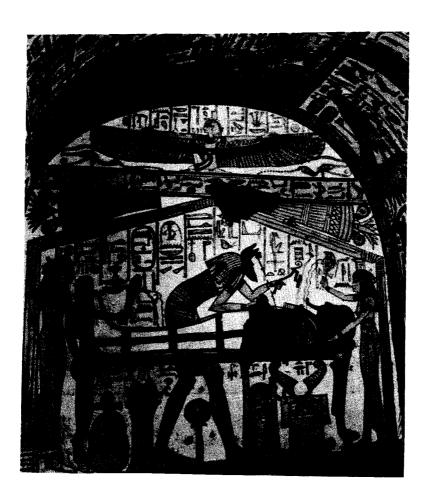
(Figure 14)



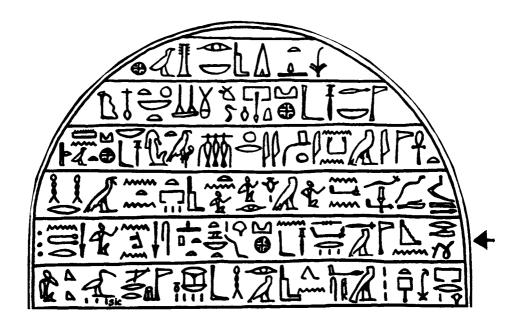
(Figure 15)



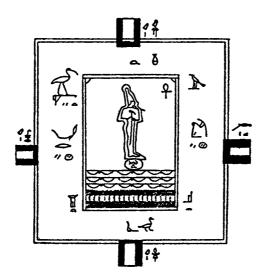
(Figure 16)



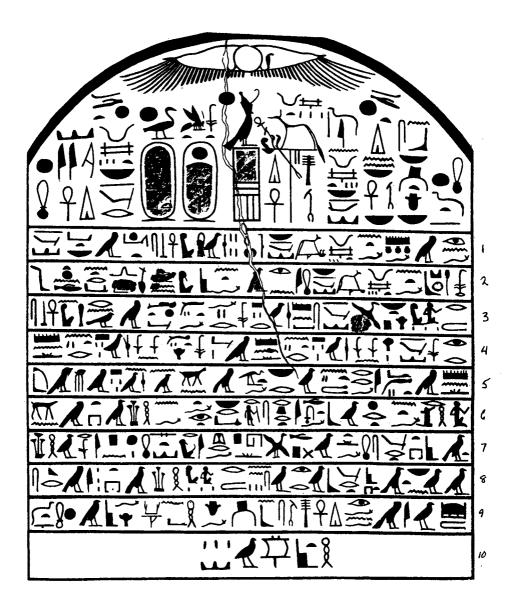
(Figure 17)



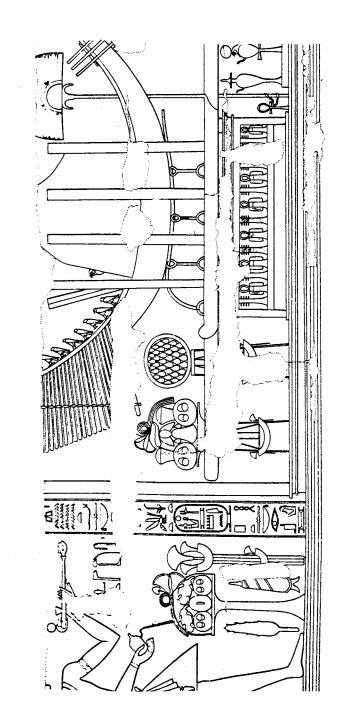
(Figure 18)



(Figure 19)

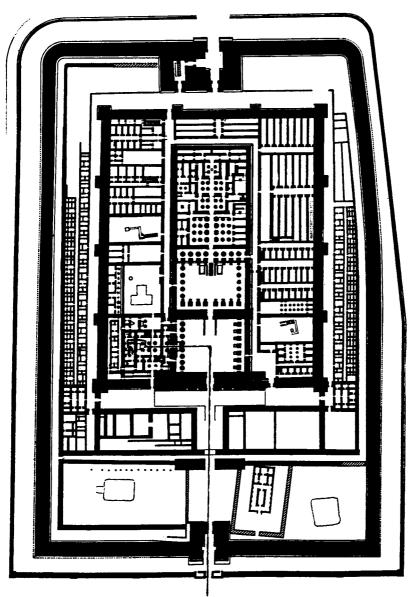


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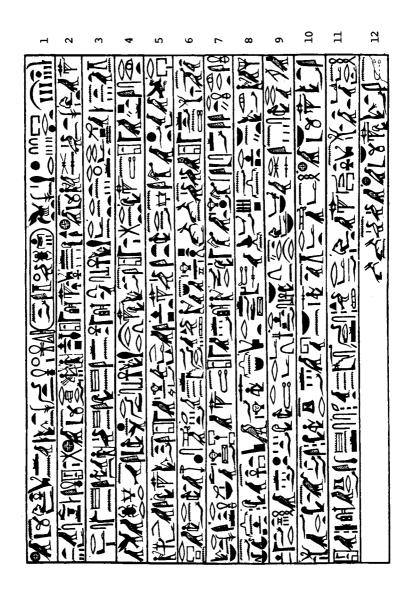




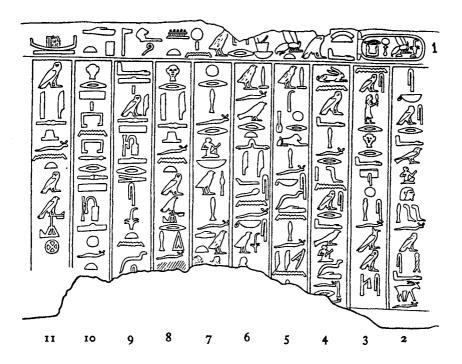
(Figure 22)



(Figure 23)



(Figure 24)



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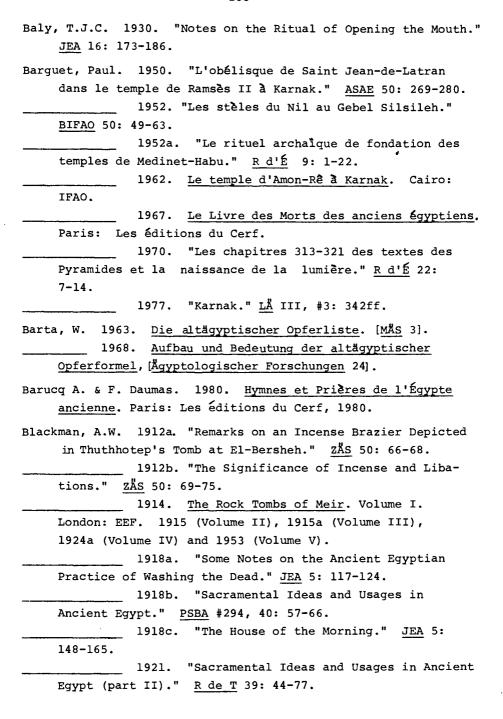
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